How can material culture analysis of fashionable menswear augment biographical and museological interpretations?

A critical analysis of three wardrobes of menswear at the Victoria and Albert Museum and Fashion Museum, Bath

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Abstract

This thesis challenges the continuing dearth of clothing as biographical evidence in telling life-stories; which, I argue, has an adverse effect on the interpretability of people's lives. The biography of objects is a burgeoning area of research, through which theorists and practitioners have become increasingly aware of the power of objects to hold narratives. But the analysis of the biography of the clothes worn by subjects is seldom described or displayed. I build on theory around the biography of objects as a tool to expand biographical and museological interpretations of three wardrobes of menswear at the Victoria and Albert Museum and Fashion Museum, Bath.

The thesis objectives propose and demonstrate a research framework combining methods from material culture, fashion studies, museology and life-writing fields. I focus on masculine clothing (including rarely preserved items such as shirts, belts and shoes) as objects, to expand on limited research in the field of fashion studies, and demonstrate my claim that analysing collecting practices enhances life-story narratives. I examine how three subjects constructed masculine identities and representations of self through their clothes. In so doing, I broaden the debate around the biographies of objects, examining individual garments from these men's collections to exemplify how, under analysis, clothing is tangible evidence of context, space, physical presence and patterns of behaviours. I interrogate masculine collecting practices and the biography of collections from

museological perspectives to present ways of using insight about patterns of male collection, or "post-private" wardrobes as I term them, to enhance the life-stories.

What emerges from my research findings is the value of clothing as biographical evidence, focusing on how the physical material impact of clothing on the body, and vice versa, when analysed alongside other research methods, presents original insights into someone's life-story, and how ephemera found within garments adds to life-narratives. I show, through my evaluative framework, how establishing a layered research methodology can augment our understanding of the biography of dress, identity and interpretation of life-stories. Through this framework, I produce original perspectives on constructions of masculine identities and representation, biographical research, and fashion collecting practices, in the 20th and 21st centuries.

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ion Museum, Bath (FMB). I thank my supervisor, Claire Wilcox who shares her time between the Victoria & Albert Museum as Senior Curator, and LCF Professor of Fashion Curation. Opportunities to dive deeper into my research was possible because of her support. Alongside Wilcox and de la Haye I worked with external advisor Alan Cannon-Jones (retired senior lecturer, tailoring, LCF). I am not a maker of clothes, so his wisdom, knowledge and expertise in tailoring and menswear, from historical fashion insights to contemporary manufacturing processes, has given me the opportunity to craft a thesis that is very different to what I could have ever hoped to have achieved on my own. He has brought different perspectives to my way of looking at fashion.

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Introduction

This thesis argues for the investigation of masculine dress when constructing object-based men's life-stories. I demonstrate how biographical researchers (who construct life-stories from historical, curatorial, and life-writing perspectives) can uncover insightful and provocative narratives surrounding the lives of men through analysing the materiality of the clothes they wore. I argue that clothes act as a tool with which the wearer's life can be analysed from different perspectives to that historically presented in life-stories, biographical exhibitions or fashion histories. To substantiate my argument, I devised a research framework that merges a number of existing methods from the fields of material culture, fashion studies and the modern notion of "life-writing".[1] The core themes of this thesis will be developed in the chapter summaries but include: the biography of objects; the study of dress in the practice of life-writing; museological concerns, including curating dress and collection studies; masculine identities; the lack of masculine clothing in museum collections in the UK; the ephemera found in the clothes I analysed; and materiality and surface studies. I also introduce the methods I used

[1]Since the 1970s, life-writing has considered a broader evidence base to traditional biographical practices, including the objects that surround someone's life, their domestic dwellings, and still and moving image. See Lee (2008; 2009) and Caine (2010).

to interrogate and analyse my research findings: Material Culture Analysis (from here referred to as MCA); object-based research, which includes textual analysis and oral history and testimony; collection studies and museology; and fashion studies.

The thesis draws on interdisciplinary research practices, which were vital to prove my observations of two fields, life-writing and fashion studies. Firstly, given the well-established literature developed within fashion studies over the past 40 years, regarding the clothes we wear and the way in which someone's dress is "read" by others, I believed biographical research was missing evidence with which to uncover someone's life-story. For the purposes of this thesis, I define "life-story" as more than a literary construction of someone's life. I include exhibition and historical constructions of lives. In the biographies of the men I analysed (see appendix 1), the clothes they wore were rarely referred to, beyond brief description. I analysed the biographies of (amongst others) photographer and diarist Cecil Beaton, activist Edward Carpenter, independently wealthy Stephen Tennant and musician David Bowie. Although they were all known for a fashionable sense of dressing and style, in their biographies I did not read any analysis of the materiality (the wear and tear on the cloth) of extant garments they wore, and what they might tell us about them. With the exception of Beaton, I seldom read about the types of clothes they wore, and where, when and how they wore them.

Secondly, masculine fashion history has not been as comprehensively researched as women's, and because there are fewer pieces of masculine dress than feminine housed in museum collections, there has been less research into men's biographies and fashion garments than on women's. Historically, a majority of fashion

curators were women (although this pattern has been changing since the turn of the 21st century). Therefore I argue that, given the importance clothing has on individuals and their perception of others, what is left is not only a distorted perception of a life, but part of the material evidence is missing of men's lives.

In order to interrogate my thesis, during the research I analysed biographies of items of masculine dress once owned and worn by three men: Kenneth Tynan (1927-1980), theatre critic and *dramatürg*; Sir Roy Strong CH (1935-), museum director, art historian and writer; and Mark Reed (1971-), art collector. My material research focussed on the collections of their clothes now stored in the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A) and the Fashion Museum, in Bath (FMB). I analysed and compared the nature of the material, as there were different types of evidence available for each of the men (clothes and accessories, paper ephemera, literature, and visual records). The range of clothing in the collections ranged from high-end designer menswear, to affordable high street clothing; from professional suits, to clothes worn in the garden. There were no uniforms (military or workwear) in the collections. Access to Tynan, Strong and Reed's wardrobes was possible because they were accessioned within two publicly-funded museums. There were also similarities and differences between the men's lives which offered productive routes through which to compare and contrast research findings to ascertain the advantages and challenges of working with the framework I developed, to see what further insights into their life-stories could be gained.

The interdisciplinary nature of fashion studies, seen in the work of Breward (1995, 1998, 2003), de la Haye, Taylor and Thompson (2005), Grassby (2005), Knappett (2005), O'Neill (2007), Granata (2012) and Wilson (2013), offers useful

structures that reflect on the premise of the research. Fashion studies encompasses the theory and practice of analysing the material, visual, psychological, production and manufacture, and the gendered aesthetics of dress, contextualised within socio-cultural, economic, political and historical perspectives. My analysis of fashion studies literature on dress and material culture proved that working with dress as material evidence offered a fundamental point of difference to working with other objects in biographical research. To reinforce the interdisciplinary nature of this research, I purposefully chose not to describe the methodologies and literature review motivating my outcomes in a separate chapter; rather, I wove theoretical debates and biographical insights of the men's lives throughout the thesis. I combined this with prioritising the men's clothes throughout the narrative and analysing them as I progressed, enabling me to introduce different theories to prove, or problematize, my argument as my research progressed.

To analyse and evaluate the clothing and personal objects, I used a key fashion studies and material culture research method, MCA, utilised by most fashion curators, and a tool I regularly use in my research. The originality of my research framework is that it merges MCA with established life-writing methods, visual and literary analysis (combined, they are termed "textual analysis"), together with oral testimony; and object-based history. Combined, textual analysis and oral history are known as object-based research. In creating a layered, hybrid methodology with which to evaluate the biography of objects, I was able to conflate my academic preoccupations, men's fashions, material culture and life-writing, as a portal through which to reveal primary research into masculine life-stories.

The biography of objects is an established field of material culture and life-writing

research (Kopytoff, in Appadurai, 1986; Hoskins, 1998). Increasing numbers of researchers are interrogating the production, use, life and afterlife of objects that people surround themselves with. Worn clothing as biographical evidence is not original. As early as 1983 curators Jane Tozer and Sarah Levitt at Gallery of Costume, Manchester Art Gallery suggested, when analysing the wardrobe of Thomas Worsley in their collection: 'Can we guess anything of [his] character from his clothes? While it is misleading to weave fantasies and legends from museum specimens, the suits suggest a gentleman in good standing' (1983: 14). Given this increased interrogation of objects, I questioned why researchers studying subjects' biographies were not utilising MCA to unearth the wealth of evidence clothing potentially offered about a wearer's life. As I surveyed the fields of life-writing and fashion studies, I wanted to understand if biographical researchers were using clothing as evidence. My analysis did not reveal any in-depth material analysis of clothing. Another fashion studies and curatorial interest that has gained popularity in recent years is the materiality of cloth (the wear and tear evident on the garment). Because of these opportunities to uncover more evidence of biography, I argue that biographical researchers can ask more of clothing objects when studying a life, such as whether the material had been worn or eroded? Were there repairs on the garment, and if so, where? What might these patterns of wear suggest about the wearer? Were they gentle users of their clothes, or did they wear them hard? The number of times an article of clothing is worn by someone is an indicator that perhaps it was a favourite item of clothing, or it fitted a pragmatic purpose, and was used often for that reason. Did they have a personal "uniform"? Might these pragmatic, aesthetic, very personal choices suggest something about them, their construction of identity? And could this

enlarge our knowledge of them as human beings?

Cultural anthropologist Igor Kopytoff's seminal publication (in Appadurai, 1986) introduced the term the biography of objects in the 1980s. Anthropologist Janet Hoskins' research, published in *Biographical Objects: how things tell the stories of people's lives* (1998) developed the theme further, exploring the objects surrounding people's lives. The impact a close study of objects has on our understanding of them has been discussed by theorists including Prown (1982, 2001), Schlereth (1985), Attfield (2000), Küchler and Miller (2005), Ian Woodward (2012), yet a focus on clothing worn by subjects has not been analysed in any depth, from biographical and historical perspectives. Analysis of these theories informed my understanding of how clothing impacts on, and is impacted by, the body when worn, but also how the stories clothing can reveal of lives in the past and present. In chapter two I argue that this evidence is valuable when navigating and constructing stories of these men's biographies.

For the purposes of this study I used life-writing as an example of a field of research within which I could test and apply my outcomes. I used examples of the physical materiality of their clothes as valuable evidence. By layering a number of existing methods in a framework with which to interrogate the research material, I concluded that these three men's life-stories were enriched by this analysis.

Examples of clothes explored in this thesis that reveal information through material change included: a Tommy Nutter safari jacket (worn elbows patched with lining cloth, torn pocket corners stitched and re-stitched to reinforce stressed and torn material) and a Next blouson (stitched repairs, grease and dirt stains at the neck). The distinct marks of materiality were evident on many garments

I analysed. It is this patina that can evidence presence and establish biography, especially where the opportunity to interview subjects has passed. Might these clues suggest something as simple as a right- or left-handed person? Could the materiality of a garment suggest that it was worn often and, if so, perhaps this indicated it was a regularly-used item for everyday use? If this was my assumption, how could I corroborate it? And what might someone's selection of a garment of a certain colour, texture, length, volume say about them, their lifestyle choices, and private and public constructed identities?

My original contribution to knowledge positions the practice of MCA as a valuable addition to biographical research, applying it to masculine dress as a device with which to interrogate the biography of the wearer and the object with equal measure. This framework can be applied to feminine and non-gender binary dress, as well as a wealth of other objects surrounding our lives, though this isn't the focus of my enquiry. I also analysed wardrobes as collections with biographies in themselves, as a means of enriching understanding of museological collecting practices, and insights into Tynan, Strong and Reed's lives. This thesis encourages debates surrounding the biography of dress from fashion studies, material culture, life-writing, museological, masculine and gendered perspectives.

I also argue that the study of the ephemera found within garments is a vital, and to date, little researched, source of information for biographical research. I treat clothes like paper ephemera, part of the package of research methods with which to analyse my research into biographical objects. I analysed my MCA findings of these men's clothing, paying attention to the things stored inside the clothing itself. The material detritus of a life found within the pockets of clothes – ticket

stubs, business cards, receipts, mangled green gardening wire, music manuscripts, sand, fluff, flower buds and abstract "notes to self" with phone numbers, half-sentences and lists – was vital in constructing an argument for the importance of studying lives in minute, intimate, subtle ways.

Museology, including collection studies, is a core theme throughout this thesis. After interrogating key theorists, I propose an original perspective on biographical wardrobes in museums – the "post-private" wardrobe. I believe my primary and secondary research into Tynan, Strong and Reed's lives offers new perspectives on museum studies. I also propose applying another approach to collecting practice, using a term I borrow from classical studies, "archival behaviour" (Potts, in MacLeod, 2000: 19-35), conflating this with philosopher Jacques Derrida's publication title *Archive Fever* (1995). I re-define the term to mean someone who does not consider themselves a collector, but their behaviour patterns belie intent of gathering a selection of objects (like clothing), and an awareness that the relevance of the garment shifts (such as something worn on a daily basis and a thing which takes on other socio-cultural meanings). From these two models, I argue the biography of the garment magnifies from being an article of worn clothing, to being a "piece" in one's wardrobe, considered not just for its aesthetically pleasing or practical qualities, but suggesting a changed perspective in the wearer, as well as further acknowledgement of shifts in socio-cultural and design implications when the collection is housed in a museum.

Historically, menswear has not been donated to museums as much as womenswear. The lack of masculine dress and biography in UK museums is the subject of a PhD in itself and was not interrogated here. There are very few wardrobes

in a UK-based museum collection with significant numbers of one man's clothing, which, even though not all scholars study the material object, is a contributory factor to the relative dearth of scholarship on masculine fashion. I undertook a review of 11 museum collections in the UK, to confirm this (see a review of menswear collections from housed in UK museums, appendix 2). This review indicated there were many small capsule collections of one, two or three ensembles (made up of multiple items), but seldom one that expressed a broader reach in to one man's wardrobe including everyday items and accessories, such as t-shirts, shoes and socks. Perhaps as a consequence of this historically limited scholarship amongst curatorial staff and fashion historians, there is an under-representation of masculine dress in museum collections (Horsley, 2017). The reasons for this are numerous, perhaps to do with the research interests of fashion curators (see Taylor, 2004: chapter two), but with little more than anecdotal discussion, this is difficult to define. A detailed analysis of collection practices in UK museums was not my research focus.

In the original stages of research, I considered using art collector and author Edward James's (1907-1984) considerable collection at the V&A. However, in discussion at my PhD confirmation (March 2015) with examiner Alistair O'Neill it was evident that Strong would be a more productive comparator subject. I had access to Strong through researching his garments at FMB, and the fact he had split his wardrobe between the V&A and FMB (which offered productive comparisons between his wardrobe, Tynan and Reed's), it was clear this would be more productive for the research framework I was interrogating.

In order to better understand personal motivations and enhance my understand-

ing of their life-stories, I believed it vital to critically analyse the personal collecting imperatives (or otherwise) in Tynan, Strong and Reed's approach to acquiring and using their clothes, and to interrogate the legacy they leave in national museums in the UK. In the case of these three men, their clothes ended up in two museums, travelling a trajectory as masculine wardrobes, from private use, to accessioning in a museum collection. This trajectory, I argue, is important to analyse for clues regarding how men in the mid- to later 20th and early 21st centuries perceive collecting, particularly of fashion, as a practice, and how this could enhance biographical insights.

From the museum registry records I reviewed and the museum publications I read, it was evident many pieces of clothing in museum collections have sparse, if any biographical detail supporting the object, including the wearer's identity, when it was purchased and why, where it was worn and with what. Often, this was because wearer's identities were unknown, or not captured at the point of accessioning. This anonymity, combined with the lack of detailed analysis of the materiality of the clothing in the records, was evidence to me that vital clues and subtle insights were still possible. Reviewing evidence of men's clothing and material culture in publications, a recent work in the field of material culture, MCA and fashion, *The Dress Detective* (Mida and Kim, 2015) analysed just one masculine ensemble out of seven. Material culture approaches to dress have been explored by various theorists (Woodward [Sophie], In Küchler et al., 2011) but from a perspective of world dress, rather than fashionable clothing. There are fewer exhibitions that focus on menswear than womenswear, again save for specific displays focusing on masculine attire (see Horsley in Clark et al., 2015). Jeffrey Hors-

ley, Research Fellow, LCF, reviewed fashion exhibitions across Europe and the United States of America displayed between 1971-2016, noting if menswear was presented. Of 129 exhibitions, only 6 (4.6%) were dedicated solely to menswear exhibitions and 71 did not include menswear at all (Horsley, 2017: 16). It is unsurprising given these statistics and anonymity that scholarship in the field of masculine dress is at an earlier stage compared to feminine dress.

To make explicit the gap in knowledge of men's lives in museum collections and life-stories, I reviewed fashion studies literature, where there is still less research into masculine fashion histories than feminine (see Edwards, 2011: 41-3; Breward, 1999b: 9-11), save for a few publications (see Wild, 2016) that have begun to explore a male subject's wardrobe. Whilst it is clear that over the past three decades studies in the history, production and socio-cultural foundations of menswear has increased, evidenced by the peer-reviewed journal *Critical Studies in Men's Fashion* (Intellect, first published 2014) and menswear fashion publications (see Harvey, 1995; Breward, 1999b; 2016; Cole, 2000a and b; O'Neill, 2007; McNeill and Karaminas, 2009; Gunn et al., 2012; Tynan, 2013; Wild, 2016; McCauley Bowstead, 2018), including popular culture magazines, masculine fashion is still not as analysed a field as feminine fashions. Men's formal uniform (military) or specifically-purposed workwear is an area that can be treated to the same methodological interrogation, but for the purposes of this thesis is a separate line of enquiry. My aim was to expand this limited field of research through contributing an original approach to masculine clothing as biographical evidence.

Continuing this line of enquiry, in my studies I noted that literary biographical research practices did not usually include studying objects beyond paper

ephemera. MCA of clothing is different to analysing other material objects like letters and photographs. Fashion has been interrogated from literary perspectives (see Koppen, 2009), but an exploration of the materiality of clothing through MCA was not included in the research methods. I argue that this necessary evidence of someone's life-story was missing. To interrogate my argument, I undertook a sample of nine biographies of male subjects, including the biography of Tynan by his second wife Kathleen Tynan, and undertook literary analysis of them. The biographies I chose to analyse were of men who, for various reasons, were considered fashionable dressers and who engaged in various professions within the entertainment and cultural sectors: from musicians Leonard Cohen and David Bowie, to athlete David Beckham; from Edward Carpenter, Stephen Tennant to Cecil Beaton. I selected biographies of people I believed offered the life-writer opportunities to explore the subject's clothing, using detailed textual resources (media coverage when Beckham wore a sarong) and potential access to the subject's clothing, either in museums (Beaton and Carpenter) or private collections (Bowie's archive). I analysed the number of times the subject's clothing was referred to in the text, and whether that clothing was described by the author in any detail, or analysed for its material qualities that might enhance their life-story (appendix 1). Even though Kathleen Tynan had direct access to his clothing when researching her book, there was no material evidence of the clothing explored, beyond descriptive references. What emerged was that the practice of material analysis (MCA) of a subject's clothing was not being considered as a means of enhancing biographical insights. Acknowledging this deficit, this thesis encourages MCA of clothing to enhance biographical evidence and practices. I did not attempt to negotiate the use of personal dress in autobiography as it

is beyond the aims of this thesis. Analysis of personal reflection and insights by someone into their own clothes in this literary genre is worth investigating in future research. The emphasis of my own research is aimed at offering biographical researchers, in their preliminary analysis and research of lives (before the final output, such as a life-story, biographical exhibition or historical piece) a methodological framework that extends the evidence base to work from.

0.1 Aims and Objectives

The aim of the research is to:

- evaluate if and how a group of artefacts of one man's dress (including rarely preserved items such as shirts, belts, shoes) can augment an understanding of character and amplify their life-stories.

The objectives of this research are to:

- expand the limited research into the biography of masculine clothing as object and evidence of life-stories
- re-evaluate MCA of clothing as part of life-writing methodology
- critically interrogate Tynan, Strong and Reed's collecting practices of fashion, in light of existing museological literature, to expand and enrich their life-stories

- demonstrate, using examples, how MCA has reinforced my interpretation of these men's life-stories, and how research findings can affect the biographical re-telling of their lives.

0.2 Definitions and Glossary

In this thesis I have referred to a number of terms, phrases and practices that form a backbone to this research, and which I will now define and construct my use of.

The fundamental method was the process of **MCA** involving the description, deduction and analysis of basic information, before elucidating, contextualising and producing interpretation of those facts (see appendix 3). Some fashion curators have highlighted MCA findings in exhibitions, which I argue expands our insights of the objects and wearers of the clothing.[2] Through this practice, curators gain multifaceted understandings of things through using a set of simple questions based around the designer/maker, form, silhouette, texture, construction, socio-cultural influences, materiality, production and manufacture, and comparison with like things. Additional layers of information are added later, such as known facts about the wearer's life. In this way the material (tangible) and immaterial (intangible) is available to the biographical researcher.

Throughout this research I analysed quotidian clothing and expensive, complexly-designed and expensively manufactured menswear. I use the terms "**clothing**",

[2] Including fashion curator Alistair O'Neil's exhibition *Isabella Blow: fashion galore!* (Somerset House, London 2013-14), Professor Amy de la Haye and Dr Jeffrey Horsley's *Present/Imperfect*, an exhibition at the Fashion Space Gallery (London, 12 May – 04 August 2017), and their co-creation with curator Martin Pel (Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton) of *Gluck: art and identity* (18 November 2017 – 11 March 2018).

"**dress**" and "**fashion**" interchangeably when applied to the men's worn objects, individually or as ensembles, because they all wore clothes that would have been considered fashionable. I include accessories such as wallets, ties and shoes as they form part of the overall dressed appearance. Interspersed throughout the thesis, image captions include definitions of different types of clothing articles that I refer to.

Materiality is a key component of this research and influenced my approach to the theory and physical analysis of the artefacts I studied. For the purposes of this research, materiality comprises the nature of the constituent material; the physical change that takes place in the interaction between the garment and the body; laundering; repair; and the impact of the environment that body engages with (wear and tear). I reinforce the importance of studying the physical influence someone has on their clothing and the potential influence of clothing on someone, not only in restriction to movement, containment and resistance, but transformations and distortions of the body and the garment itself.[3] Practicing MCA on the garments I studied, I was able to analyse materiality and how it reflected the wearer's physical and personal traits to expand existing knowledge of someone's life. A key field that responds to materiality is surface studies; this greatly informed my research and is described further in chapter two. In order to interrogate materiality, I analysed theories developed by sociologists (Campbell [1996], Entwistle [2004], Inglis [2005], Woodward [Ian, 2012], Gibson [2015]) and anthropologists (Tilley [1991; 2008], Miller [2005; 2008; 2012]) to expand notions of the biographical object.

[3]See Basalla, 1982 for a study on transformed objects.

I acknowledge the Western-centric, masculine focus of this thesis. The lack of dress currently present in museum collections, from marginalised groups such as LGBTQ* and non-gender binary self-identifying people, as well as a lack of diversity from other ethnic groups within the UK society, is not interrogated in this thesis.

I refer interchangeably between "**object**" and "**thing**" when describing what physically and literally surrounded Tynan, Strong and Reed's life. Judy Attfield defines things as a generic term: 'Simply, [a thing] can be said to be a term that stands for the basic unit that makes up the totality of the material world' (2000:11). I describe things made by humans as "**artefacts**" (Dant, 1999: 11; Pearce, in Dudley, 2012a: 23-25; Hannan and Longair, 2017: 8).

These men purchased, over an extended period of time, a group of objects to make a **wardrobe**. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines a wardrobe as a space for storing clothing (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/wardrobe). From a material culture perspective, and for the purposes of this thesis, I refer to these men's *collections* of clothes as wardrobes. It is a definition that personalises the act of selection. Christopher Breward describes how 'Like modern architecture itself, the male wardrobe was designed to act as a physical and psychological buffer against the confusing sensations of modernity' (2016: 179). In this way, I suggest that the act of wearing masculine clothes takes on biographical elements, which I explore in chapter one. Additionally, a wardrobe captures evidence of life transitions (a new career or living environment); reflects occupation (or lack of) and financial status; religious beliefs; socio-cultural assertions; gender; and sexuality, explored

in chapter four.

I used **interdisciplinary** methodological approaches to my research. Interdisciplinary studies is a conflation of theories and research methods from separate disciplines and fields to merge and flow across a body of work. In the humanities, an interdisciplinary methodological approach is adopted by a practitioner working with 'theoretical tools from more than one discipline' (Turner, 2012: 38). It has attracted criticism in the past for the challenge of maintaining a balance between academic, objective rigour, and an open, flexible approach (sometimes perceived as 'undisciplined') to researching (Turner, 2012: 40-2; see also: Lattuca, 2003; Grassby, 2005; Knappett, 2005; Eicher, 2010: 14). Nonetheless, it was a productive approach because of this flexibility for my research. It allowed me to experiment with the layering of methods, including my MCA process, to interrogate the findings and describe a life-story.

For the purposes of this thesis, I describe **biographical researchers** as those studying fashion history, or working as fashion curators and life-writers to construct the story of someone's life. I use "**life-story**" and "**life-writing**" to define the contemporary practice of researching personal narratives (see chapter three), and "**biography**" and "**biographical**" interchangeably to describe the methods of describing and interpreting peoples' lives. I use "**narrative**" as a way of describing stories, embedded in recent trends in social research towards the biographical, where visual analysis and interdisciplinary methods are becoming more widely practiced (Squire, 2005: 91-3).

A recently established field of study, **surface studies** (Adamson and Kelley [2013], Amato [2013], Bruno [2014]) offered useful insights into objects, materiality and

the impact the proximity of dress to the body has on understanding clothing as biographical evidence. Because one of the men is deceased (Tynan), I explored theorists including Trustram (2014), and Gibson (2008), examining clothing as primary evidence in understanding someone's biography post-mortem.

My aim for this thesis was to encourage biographical researchers to use the clothing as primary research evidence. The material culture researcher's knowledge and assumption should be informed by years of experience working with objects and the secrets they can reveal under scrutiny. The "dropping of hints" the biographer can present is emphasised in author Virginia Woolf's regard for those subtle insights, those 'bare hints dropped here and there' that enhance how we view biographical subjects (1928: 35). I define the term **modulated believing** which takes informed assumption and corroborated evidence of someone's life, and allows for a malleable approach to extracting often very subtle and important perspectives with which to analyse that life.

The **biography of objects** as a term, in the context of this interdisciplinary research based in fashion studies, describes the life story clothes can tell: from construction; through the selection of garments by people; the use and wear of them; their materiality, that is the surface wear and tear of materials; and to accessioning in a museum collection with public access, research and display. I purposefully chose not to analyse the very initial stages of the garments, the design and manufacturing process, as this was beyond the scope of my aims and objectives.

Throughout this thesis I refer to **masculinities** (plural) rather than masculinity. As Professor of Cultural Histories Frank Mort notes, masculinity is multiform, not unitary or monolithic (1996: 10; see Beynon, 2002: 1). It is this plurality of

expression – contrasted with uniformity – with which I ally my position. Masculinities and the performativity of the clothed body is an underlying theme of this research but, beyond acknowledgement of its importance in constructing private and public identities, is outside the scope of this thesis (see Butler, 1990; Mort, 1996; Nixon, 1997, 2005; Breward, 1998, 1999b; Edwards, 2011; Negrin, 2008; McCauley-Bowstead, 2018). Given how constructions of masculinities in the UK in the 20th and 21st centuries are rapidly changing, it has been evident for some decades that masculine dress is as worthy a research field as feminine. This research does not delve in to an enhanced investigation of how masculine dress creates and complicates gender, as that is another research project in itself.

Likewise, the **agency** (meaning that objects carry out social functions; the relationships between someone's tangible objects and their intangible memories [see Ian Woodward, 2012: 3; Küchler and Miller, 2005: 15]) of clothing is referred to but, as it has been extensively critiqued in the fashion studies literature, for the purposes of this work I only refer to it (see Kopytoff. 1986; Appadurai, 1986; Campbell, 1996; Ingold, 2010; Entwistle and Wilson, 2001; Entwistle, 2004). I concur with the notion that the objects we surround ourselves with have the power to act as agents, that we form social relationships with them, and that the relationship is a two-way exchange of intangible memory, the *frisson* of emotion, and tangible materiality (Küchler and Miller, 2005).

In chapter one I map the travels through London of Reed, as an exploration of how context and the purchasing and wearing of clothing influenced my interrogation of his life-story. By **mapping** I mean the accounting for the men's movements through London, and how this environment impacted on their biography,

drawing on MCA of their clothes, and object-based research to develop their biographical stories.

0.3 Methodology

This section identifies the core fields and methodologies used in this thesis. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of this thesis, and because I am interrogating a framework that synthesized and layered a number of methods from different fields, it is useful to situate them within their various disciplines, and analyse how they have informed my research. There is no separate literary review or methodological chapter in this thesis; rather, I infused theory and research methodology within each chapter to support the themes, reflecting the non-separation between biographical narrative, theory and object that I am arguing for. In the chapter outlines following this section, I describe in detail how I used the methods to reach my outcomes.

Material Culture Analysis

Material culture studies, theory and practices combines sociological, anthropological and humanities research as a tool with which to analyse the biography of objects. It formed the underlying structure of this research. In order to undertake object analysis of the clothes, I used MCA (see appendix 3) to analyse clothing stored in their care in museum collections (examples of my MCA practice can be seen in appendix 4). Material culture studies, which I examine in chapter two, has been interrogated by theorists, from object-based and philosophical

perspectives. The work of art historian Jules Prown, who formalised the MCA research method in the 1980s, has been critiqued by recent practitioners including archivist Ingrid Mida and dress historian Alexandra Kim (2015), specifically in relation to analysing dress. This thesis focuses on these issues.

I synthesized MCA findings of Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing with object-based research. Through oral testimony, MCA of clothes Reed wore, and detritus hidden in his pockets, I constructed a short object-based life-story which emphasised his clothing as a site of memory and evidence, proving my argument that the proposed research framework offered a wealth of information that could enhance these men's life-stories.

Object-based research

I use the definition of object-based research which combines textual analysis (literary paper-based evidence, and visual still or moving image. See McKee, 2003: 1) and oral history and testimony (Eicher, 2010: 14). Combining these methods with MCA offered enhanced perspectives on these subjects' use of clothing to construct masculine identities.

Given the interdisciplinary approach to this research, and my research background, it is productive to expand on an art historical method, visual analysis and its contribution to my outcomes. My secondary research is embedded in visual culture. The methodology and practice of visual analysis has been comprehensively analysed from different perspectives by theorists and practitioners including Berger (1972), Sontag (1979), Ribeiro (1998), Kuhn (2000), Rose (2002),

Banks (2009), Grady (in Knowles and Sweetman, 2004), Mitchell (2012) and Pink (2012). Visual anthropologist Professor Marcus Banks expands on visual analysis as a method, describing the importance of analysing the shifting patterns presented in imagery of fashions (2009: 45) and the materiality of the image itself (2009: 42 and 2009: 52-5). Because of this, visual analysis is increasingly being fused with the broadest range of interdisciplinary research methodologies, including material culture practices like MCA.

Oral History

Throughout the thesis I establish a close focus on looking at clothes through MCA in order to see the stories locked in their materiality. I now describe another significant mode of gathering stories, oral history, that I used as one of a package of methods in this proposed framework, with which to amplify my MCA findings. Oral history is the general practice of gathering life stories through sound recordings (see Thompson, 1978; Mitchell, 1980; Dunaway, 1991; Perks and Thomson, 1998; Taylor, 2002; Sandino, 2006; Abrams, 2010; Sandino and Partington, 2013; Sheftel and Zembrzycki, 2013). Within the field of oral history practice, I used the oral testimony method to conduct the majority of interviews undertaken for this research. Oral testimony is where the interviewee freely explores a theme introduced by the interviewer, with minimal intervention, in contrast to oral history interviews where a more formal set of questions are prepared in advance to glean information on a specific subject.

Utilising oral history and testimony when researching artefacts like dress has been highlighted by practitioners like Claudia Mitchell who stresses that 'dress stories'

(the power of oral history to tell the personal narratives of our clothing as a vital component of describing the life-stories of subjects [Mitchell, 2012: 43. See also Taylor, 2002: 242]) have seldom been interrogated in life-writing methodologies. It is this missing vital component in describing the life-stories of subjects which I seek to redress. I interviewed Strong, Reed, Tracy Tynan and museum specialists.[4] I recorded MCA sessions at the FMB with Strong once, and at The Clothworkers' Centre for the Study and Conservation of Textiles and Fashion, V&A with Reed on several occasions, placing objects in front of them to reflect on. In merging the research from MCA and oral testimony, I uncovered many stories hidden in the clothes. I argue this reveals many rich narratives for object-based biographical research and is an original contribution to knowledge for fashion studies and material culture.

My research was grounded in the constructivist (or interpretive) approaches to objects, where the ' "performance" of social action – oral, visual, gestural – including the feelings and emotions of those involved' is considered when interpreting information (Banks, 2009: 22). I investigated denotative elements, those being the facts and events, and connotative elements, being the stories we create around the object (Mitchell, 2012: 41), to glean more information from the things I analysed. This approach reflected the very personal relationship people have with their clothes, including visual representations of themselves (see Gibson, 2008).

I focused on masculine clothing stored in two museum collections because of my research preoccupations, and, given extant publications and the low numbers

[4]I asked each interviewee to sign an Ethics Form, a sample of which is appendix 5.

of fashion exhibitions about men, menswear collections in museums are not as researched or analysed as much as womenswear, and masculine biographies are not prioritised as much as feminine biographies in exhibitions of dress. Comparison (a component of the MCA method) between the wardrobes was productive in shedding light on aspects of each man's life-story. Tynan and Strong had textual evidence surrounding their lives that was available to me to research (biographies, memoirs, published diaries and letters, journalism). Because Reed had little publicly-accessible textual evidence available for me to work with, I could use his story to comparatively prove how much biographical evidence could be gleaned from MCA of his wardrobes of clothes in the V&A and FMB.

In my research into these men's lives I did not prioritise how fashionable or trend-leading these men were, although their purchasing of fashionable clothing plays a part in understanding their choices and behaviours and offers insight into their life-stories. Instead, my focus was to work with garments that had provenance, such as images of the men wearing them, or contextualising ephemera such as Strong's small white note cards left in pockets, and a music manuscript found in the back pocket of the trousers of Reed's Romeo Gigli suit.

The format and structure of this text-based thesis takes inspiration from publications that have placed text and image in innovative ways. Each chapter begins with a reflective piece of writing on Tynan, Strong or Reed, using one object or an ensemble of dress they wore to introduce the discussion. Whilst conducting my research, I read Tracy Tynan's (Tynan's first daughter) evocatively titled *Wear and Tear: the threads of my life* (2016). I was influenced by her formula: she introduced each chapter with an article of her clothing that had associated memories

of a particular period or life-event. It seemed to me a successful strategy to place the material object before critical and reflective interrogation, given my emphasis on the clothes these men wore. The object is the force which precedes and moves the critical and reflective elements forward. Another useful narrative structure model was biographer Lisa Cohen's publication *All We Know* (2012), where the author assembled three brief biographies of women living at the turn of the 20th century and, using comparative analysis, highlighted the similarities between them (LGBTQ* women, living in particular artistic milieus and social stratas that overlapped either in time or association).

Within each chapter I precis the three men's object-based biographies, the common denominator being MCA of their clothing as material evidence with which to compare and contrast findings, to search for insights into their lives to corroborate my knowledge of their life-stories. In order to emphasise themes, I chose to weave the life of each man throughout all chapters, rather than separate them, to encourage comparison. I positioned text and image next to each other as double-page spreads to explore different perspectives on the objects being discussed. This formatting became an integral element of the methodology, inviting different ways of thinking about and viewing garments.

Objects in the museum collections are indicated by the beginning of accession codes: "T." indicates the V&A; "BATMC" indicates FMB.

0.4 Outline of Chapters

I divide my thesis into four chapters. The first chapter, on identity and representation, utilises masculinities and gender studies, sociology, textual studies, cultural studies, performative theory and philosophy, to scrutinize how Tynan, Strong and Reed defined their identities through their clothing. I demonstrate, using MCA to explore the materiality of their garments, how this impacted on my interpretation and analysis of their lives. I also position the men in a specific, urban context, London – an important world city famous for menswear design, both traditional tailoring and contemporary fashion – as a space which influenced their construction of self. All three lived in the city for significant periods of their lives. The accessibility of fashionable menswear (high street, boutique, high-end/designer, bespoke) in London influenced what these men wore, how they wore it and their construction of identities. This research situates these men in this city, but the focus is not to contribute to existing literature on site and mapping (see Breward and Gilbert, 2006; O'Neill, 2007; Clark and Buckley, 2017); rather, it is the opportunity to commence applying the proposed research framework to the three men's garments.

The second chapter on material culture establishes arguments for using clothing as material evidence in biographical research. I critique the practice, theory and philosophy of material culture and MCA, and the biography of objects (see: Ingold, 2010; Morphy, in Dudley, 2012a: 345; Campbell, 1996). Concepts of materiality and immateriality are interrogated, as is the everyday object, as evidence to prove my thesis. I analyse surface studies theories, contextualising the insights of the wear and tear of the clothes of Tynan, Strong and Reed. I develop further the

synthesis of MCA findings of their clothing with primary object-based research. I interrogate and critique whether my proposed research framework produces original contributions to knowledge on masculine biographies of dress, questioning how these men wore their clothing, their perceptions of wearing masculine attire, and what new biographical information I could glean from their garments. When conducting MCA, my research questions suggested the interrogation of patterns of behaviour emerging in Tynan, Strong and Reed's lives. Would I be able to corroborate the evidence and my assumptions (a classic biographical research method) in any way? What might these garments reflect of their approach to living, perceptions, and the influence of clothing on their world (see Grassby, 2005: 594)?

The potential for objects to reveal biographical information through the MCA method led me to explore the potential for the practice in life-writing research methods. The third chapter continues testing the synthesis of textual analysis and oral history with MCA, interrogating how productive this is when constructing biographies of Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing. I outline the emergence of life-writing and the methods with which practitioners research life-stories. The biography of the object is explored, working with recent research, problematizing the notion of what the history of an inanimate thing might look like. Memory is a symbolically rich mine to source for evidence of life-stories, particularly in light of the oral testimony I undertook with Strong, Reed and Tynan's first daughter, Tracy. To expand my research findings, I analyse writing on memory, from academics including Kavanagh (1996), Ben-Amos et al. (1999), Radstone (2000), Gibson (M, 2008) and Gibson (R., 2015). Life-writing describes a prac-

tice based on a group of methods encompassing analysis of paper ephemera and oral history, with the study of the visual evidence and material notion of objects surrounding someone's life (object-based research). What has been missing from this methodology is fashion clothing as *object*. I argue for clothing as 'materialized memory' (Abel, unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013), to be assimilated in a biographical research framework, using MCA of these objects to prove how valuable the practice is in enlarging life-stories. In this chapter I highlight life-writing theory and methods relevant to my research framework, including the work of Shelston (1977); Hoskins (1998); Parke (2002); Anderson (2005); Lee (2008, 2009); and Caine (2010).

The fourth chapter elaborates the idea of biographical collections, applying it to museological theory and practice to analyse the wardrobes of Tynan, Strong and Reed. This thesis contributes a re-assessment of masculine collecting practices in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. I examine museologist Susan Pearce's field defining research in collection studies (1989; 1992; 1995; 1998; 2002; 2003), in particular interrogating her analysis of gendered collecting practices. I analyse museological research and collection studies from the previous three decades, to question previously accepted notions of what men collect (Vergo, 1989; Belk, 1995; Kavanagh, 1996; Albano, 2007). I draw from a wide range of cultural theorists who have critiqued collecting and collections, including Benjamin (1968, 1978), Elsner and Cardinal (1994), Bal (1994), Baudrillard (1997), Belk (1995, 2003), to interrogate Tynan, Strong and Reed's perception of their wardrobes, their perceptions of themselves as collectors, and how such insights expand my understanding of their biography. I test my notion of the "post-private" wardrobe, ex-

ploring the stories of how these men's wardrobes came to be housed in the V&A and FMB and consider how these gifts to a museum reveals elements of the subject's life-story. I explore the idea of the "non-collector", drawing on theory and my primary research to investigate how Strong's perceptions of what he wore, and eventually donated to two museums, was not, in his mind, a process of personal collecting. How these objects and wardrobes of men's clothing came to be in two museum collections is analysed. Insights gained from Tynan, Strong and Reed's objects offer useful pathways to explore how we describe and present the trajectory of a man's life through his objects.

In conclusion, I summarise my original contribution to knowledge. MCA of a subject's clothing will not retrieve all information about these men's life-stories, but amalgamating these findings with object-based research methods offers new information and insights into someone's character and life-story. My research exposed new questions to ask of Tynan, Strong and Reed's lives that I would not have considered if I had relied solely on textual analysis and oral history methods.

0.5 Self-reflection as Researcher

I am an objects-based writer, researcher and curator. I privilege text in my research practice, writing about my personal research interests, menswear fashion and museology, and the stories clothes can tell. My interest centres on menswear fashion of all periods, particularly the everyday things men wear.

Constructing a thesis with interdisciplinary "non"-boundaries is a negotiation between understanding my sense of self as researcher, what and who I choose

to research, the environment within which I live, and the inculcated dispositions of my socio-cultural education and background (white, European/New Zealander, in my 40s). During my research, I necessarily reflected on my personal agenda and interests in the field, and how they affected my interpretations.[5] As Mitchell notes, regarding the practice of visual analysis, 'situating one's self in the research texts – taking it personally – is crucial to engaging in the interpretive process' (2012: 11). We examine and contextualise ourselves, and the lives of others, through histories and life-stories, and the objects we surround ourselves with (for literary and object-based investigations, see: Jenkins, 2009 [1991]; Miller, 2008; Ulrich et al., 2015; Hannan et al., 2017). Empathy underlies my position. Being able to understand and be sensitive towards my position and viewpoints of these men's lives, their privileges, desires and constructions of identity, was a vital component of this research. Empathy is also a contested tool with which to explore history: Jenkins believed it was impossible to get inside someone else's mind, to interpret their choices, and that communication, between humans and objects, comes with our own contemporaneous interpretations, based on our biases, assumptions and perspectives (2009 [1991]: 47-57). However, one of the principal theorists I analysed for this research, for his seminal work in material culture studies from anthropological approaches, Daniel Miller argued that empathy is an essential tool within anthropology's arsenal of methodologies, in order to be able to 'see the world from perspectives other than one's own' (2005: 80). I follow Miller, and argue that empathy, for all the flaws Jenkins raised, is one of the few tools that researchers have in exploring fellow human beings' lives.

[5] See Gemignani, 2011: 701 on countertransference, i.e. reflecting on our reactions to the material to help us understand that material; see also Morley's self-positioning, 2016, and McCauley Bowstead's introduction, 2018.

Self-reflection of my own biases, modulated believing and perspectives was required in the interdisciplinary approach to these men's clothes – from what I chose to analyse, to how I analysed and contextualised things in the wider biography of the subject. This is where my notion of modulated believing emerges as a valuable tool, to approach a life in an agile and empathetic manner.

My education has led me to be able to undertake this type of study. Through my first and second degrees (BA (Hons) art history, and a post-graduate diploma in museum studies), I learnt research skills in critical, visual and museological analysis of what is collected by and presented in museums. From 2008-10 I studied MA Fashion Curation (London College of Fashion [LCF], University of the Arts London), with Professors Amy de la Haye and Judith Clark where I began forming ideas for this thesis. I have experience project-managing and installing fashion exhibitions with de la Haye and Clark (2011-present) in my position at LCF as manager of the Research Centre for Fashion Curation. I was guided through my research by de la Haye (Director of Studies), Professor Claire Wilcox (LCF, supervisor) and external advisor, expert tailor and menswear specialist Alan Cannon-Jones. Each brought to this research different perspectives of the clothes I explored. To hone my object-based research skills, I undertook training including oral history, working with and analysing objects in museums, writing and compiling a body of research, attending and presenting at conferences, and writing a book chapter utilising MCA and object-based analysis as key research methods with which to interrogate the subject (see appendix 6).

I am aware that, since commencing this research, my research process evolved. I feel I got to know Strong and Reed and, to a lesser extent, Tynan through his

daughter, as the research progressed. My "objective" distance as a researcher was impacted by my growing understanding of them as individuals, rather than as men whose clothes ended up in museum collections. An example of this was when Strong gave me access to his personal scrapbooks that he and his wife Julia Trevelyan Oman created of newspaper clippings, letters, cards and private and public photographs. Since then, they were donated to the Bodleian Library, Oxford in 2017. My analysis and interpretation of them would inevitably have been different if I had undertaken my research in the formal space of a university library. Instead, I have photographs and notes of hundreds of pages in personally-created visual and literary "diaries" of Strong's life with Trevelyan Oman. It was an intimate experience, researching in Strong's private, domestic space, with no editorial interventions. It was not an institutional environment, with restrictions which may have influenced what I could do with the material. The experience of researching someone's life in their private, personal space comes with its own issues, including censoring myself without meaning to, or of not wanting to offend (even though Strong was clear from the start that I could write what my research uncovered about him and his clothes).

I am especially interested in how men identify with the objects they wear, and how they use garments to construct masculine identities. As a researcher I have been aware of the similarities between myself and the three male subjects as my research has progressed, including the fact that we all wore masculine dress. Like the three subjects, I share many Eurocentric, western socio-cultural inculcated perspectives with them. But, having been raised in New Zealand, I can potentially mis-interpret some deeply rooted Eurocentric cultural preoccupations, in-

cluding the UK's class system, even having lived in the UK for over two decades. Like Tynan, I am interested in style, but not necessarily fashionable masculine attire; like Strong, I wear some clothes for decades, not bearing to part with them (although, fortunately for me he did find a way to part with many of them); and, like Mark Reed, I am gay, and a similar age. These similarities inevitably influenced how I approached this research, the questions I asked, and my interpretation of these men's clothes.

Throughout my studies, I have written and drawn in workbooks, capturing MCA practice, tutorials and lectures, notes, checklists, oral history interview preparation and questions. The pages became work spaces, helping to organise my thoughts as I unravelled and pieced my ideas together. I worked with a pedagogic method called “mind-mapping” to question my thinking about the clothes and plot the narrative journey of the thesis. I photographed my MCA process in each session (2013-2018), enabling another layer of visual analysis, and reminders, to work with.

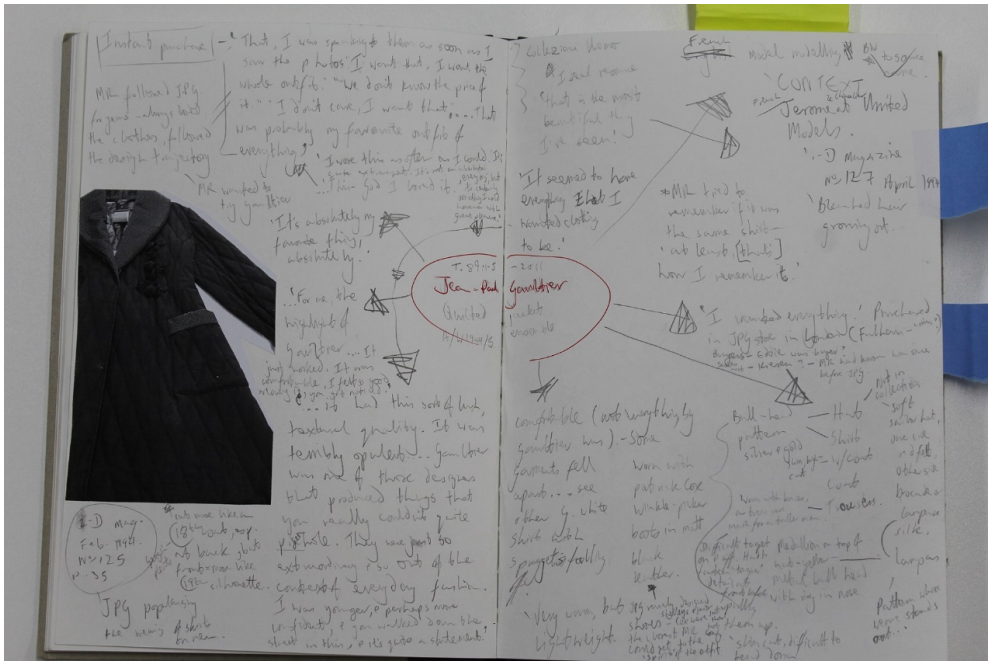


Figure 1: Author's workbook analysis of Mark Reed's Jean-Paul Gaultier ensemble (T.89:1-5-2011)

0.6 Conclusion

This thesis is about looking at the ways biographical researchers explore the stories that clothes tell, or have the potential to tell. I argue that men's clothing should be used as methodological evidence by biographical researchers in object-based life-writing, to reveal material stories. Rather than the traditional literary form, I espouse a model of material culture biography, in order to 'understand people through the medium of their things' (Miller, 2008: 300). I follow theorist Susan Sontag's advice when studying objects: she implores, 'we must learn to *see* more, to *hear* more, to *feel* more' (Sontag, 2009: 14). Trusting one's intuition and informed assumption is a vital component of this process. As Lee (2008: 105), Hooper (2012), Mida and Kim (2015) and Ventura (2016) remind us, researchers need to undertake slow looking through the research process – in my case sitting with the garment for it to reveal, through sight and touch, more of its biography. I present evidence of this practice, thereby augmenting the life-stories of the three male subjects who wore the clothes, to reach conclusions and establish questions for future material culture-based biographical research.

I argue the interaction between the clothing's biography and the wearer's body creates a dynamic, evolving relationship with the person's life-story, even when the garment is stored in a museum's collection. Synthesizing MCA with the oral testimony of what Strong and Reed told me about their wardrobes, offers rich narratives that contributed to an expanded understanding of these men's life-stories in constructing biographies *through* clothes.

In the upcoming chapter I establish the ways in which Tynan, Strong and Reed

constructed their identities and managed representations through clothes, as a way to begin analysing the stories clothes can tell.

Chapter 1

Constructing Identity and Representation in the Wardrobes of Tynan, Strong and Reed

It is a cool, autumn day in central London, late 1994. A tall and elegant young man with hair slicked back into a long ponytail turns the corner of a central London street famed for its designer fashion stores and stylish restaurants. His silhouette is similar to the Victorian-inspired costumes worn by actor Gary Oldman in the film Bram Stoker's Dracula *(1992). Cinched at the waist, the man's quilted knee-length coat is embellished with frogging detail; tassels swing as he strides down the street. He is wearing slender trousers caught at the ankle with lacing detail, over black leather Chelsea boots. Wearing this ensemble, an almost exact duplication of a catwalk look from French designer Jean-Paul Gaultier's* Tarbulbudd'deville *Autumn-Winter menswear collection of 1994-95, Mark Reed is aware he is causing*

a bit of a stir; in a way, he desires this. Reed says about the ensemble, that:

> it had this sort of lush, textural quality. It was terribly opulent.… Gaultier was one of those designers that produced things that you really just couldn't quite pinhole. They were just so extraordinary and so out of the context of everyday fashion. I was younger, and perhaps more confident: [walking] down the street in this [is] quite a statement (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15).

Reed was emphatic this was his favourite outfit, and he eloquently and excitedly talked about it at length. He was in the right city, at the right time, on the right street, for people "in the know" to understand that what he was wearing was not only going to open those stylish restaurant doors, but significantly contributed to Reed's construction of an identity. An identity which included being a male, in the mid-1990s, in London, homosexual, an art collector and historian of independent wealth, a lover of music (he played the harpsichord), and a regular on Bond Street and others like it that dominated London's fashion culture.

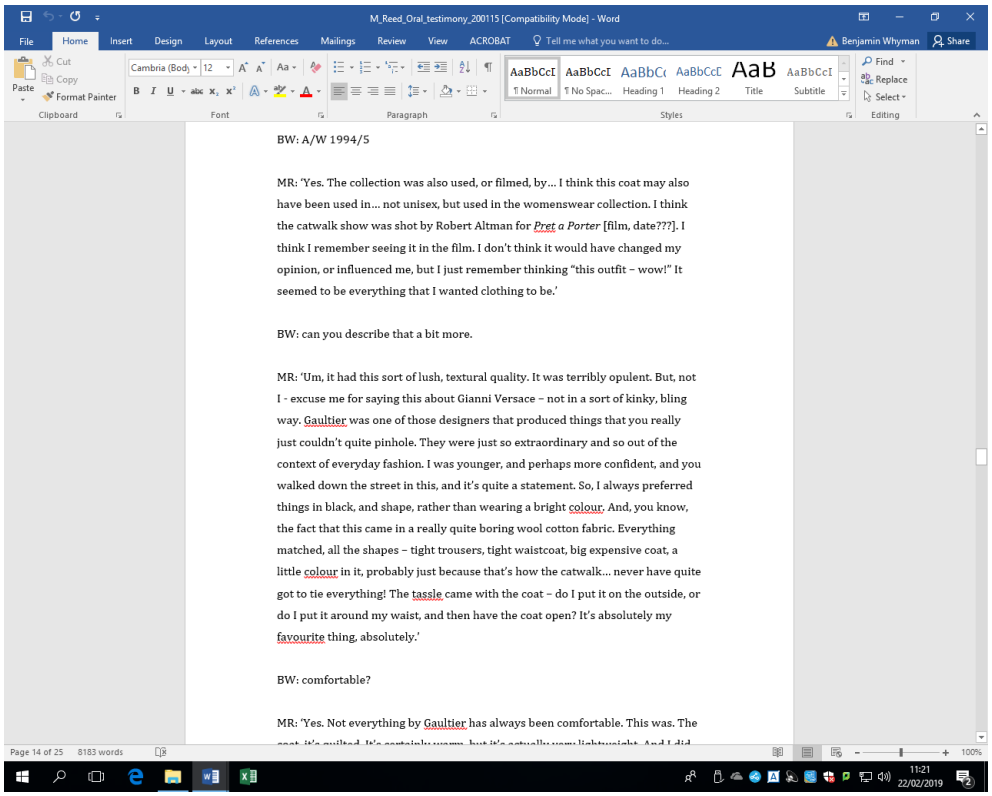
The scene of Reed striding central London's streets dressed in his favourite ensemble, is drawn by me from his memories of walking London's streets, revealed in six oral testimony sessions I undertook with him between 2014 and 2018, and through insights gained from analysing the urban and fashion terrain of the city from the 1960s to the 2000s. I situate him in a time and place and use the biography of his clothes as a conduit through which to reveal elements of his life-story. I am able to construct this scene because of the integration of the primary and secondary research I undertook as part of my research framework.

This chapter analyses theories around identity and representation and interrogates the construction of the masculine self through clothing choices (see Breward, 1999a and b; O'Neill, 2007; and from a female perspective, Davies-Strodder

et al., 2015). Using the material object (garments stored in the V&A and FMB), the thesis aims to reveal life-stories through clothing. Questions – including what, how and where Tynan, Strong and Reed wore their clothes – are analysed. Later in this chapter, in order to test the efficacy of this approach, I map Reed's travels through London on shopping expeditions using the research framework, to ascertain his experiences and how they impacted on his construction of self through clothing. I used conventional life-writing methods – object-based research – to establish information about his life. I do so because his life has not been recorded in depth through publicly available material (publications, imagery) as Tynan or Strong's.

For the purposes of this thesis I define representation to mean the practices, beliefs and shared values amongst a wider community of people in society that influences the construction and perceptions of personal identity. I use a definition of identities that captures dualities between the presentation of an individual person and as a group of people who represent collective traits. This thesis does not attempt a redefinition of the ongoing debate surrounding what masculinities and identity and representation is. What is revealed, in the broad range of styles and fashions of clothing represented in Tynan, Strong and Reed's wardrobes – Tynan's partial wardrobe, from a larger mass of clothes now lost; and Strong and Reed's wardrobes, selected by museum curators – is reflective of their construction of masculine identities. Other than a Patek Phillipe watch, Tracy Tynan did not inherit any of her father's clothing. Her half-brother, Matthew, inherited some pieces from his wardrobe including a pair of cufflinks gifted and inscribed by actor Laurence Olivier, and a pair of white shoes (size 9 ½) similar to the

From the mid-1980s to the early 2000s, Reed enthusiastically engaged with high-end, designer menswear fashion, purchasing as complete a catwalk head-to-toe "look" as he could source in the designer stores, to wear on a daily basis. This ensemble, and the scene it conjured for me, brings philosopher Pierre Bourdieu's notion of distinction to the fore. Bourdieu notes how differences in social class, fashions and demeanour influence peoples' perception of us, effectively operating as indicators: 'differences function as distinctive signs and as signs of distinction, positive or negative, and this happens outside any intention of distinction…' (1990 [1994]: 132). In this chapter on constructions of identity and representation, I analyse how Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing is constitutive of the images they constructed of themselves.



BW: A/W 1994/5

MR: 'Yes. The collection was also used, or filmed, by... I think this coat may also have been used in... not unisex, but used in the womenswear collection. I think the catwalk show was shot by Robert Altman for *Pret a Porter* [film, date???]. I think I remember seeing it in the film. I don't think it would have changed my opinion, or influenced me, but I just remember thinking "this outfit – wow!" It seemed to be everything that I wanted clothing to be.'

BW: can you describe that a bit more.

MR: 'Um, it had this sort of lush, textural quality. It was terribly opulent. But, not I - excuse me for saying this about Gianni Versace – not in a sort of kinky, bling way. Gaultier was one of those designers that produced things that you really just couldn't quite pinhole. They were just so extraordinary and so out of the context of everyday fashion. I was younger, and perhaps more confident, and you walked down the street in this, and it's quite a statement. So, I always preferred things in black, and shape, rather than wearing a bright colour. And, you know, the fact that this came in a really quite boring wool cotton fabric. Everything matched, all the shapes – tight trousers, tight waistcoat, big expensive coat, a little colour in it, probably just because that's how the catwalk... never have quite got to tie everything! The tassle came with the coat – do I put it on the outside, or do I put it around my waist, and then have the coat open? It's absolutely my favourite thing, absolutely.'

BW: comfortable?

MR: 'Yes. Not everything by Gaultier has always been comfortable. This was. The

Figure 1.1: Sample of oral testimony transcription with the author. Mark Reed, interviewed 20/01/15

pair by Freemans in the V&A collection (T.573:1, 2-1995) (see figure 1.10). If the V&A had been offered a broader range from Tynan's wardrobe (such as the gold satin-weave shirts and green baize suit of his student days), it would likely have been as eclectic and varied in type of object as the other men's. But, all three wardrobes expose to varying degrees a multiplicity of personal identities created over a lifetime and in particular cultural contexts – from the private to the public, the shy to the gregarious, the stylish to the workaday.

Masculinities and gender studies and performative theory are well established fields, but are important to address to establish a foundation on which to build the case for greater insights into Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothes when constructing their biography, representation and identity. I will interrogate specific theories in order to augment, or challenge, elements of Tynan, Strong and Reed's construction of identity through dress.

1.1 Masculinities, representation, identity

This section positions key theorists in the field of masculinities, representation and identity relevant to this research. I outline theories of masculinities, performativity and gender, including the work of Butler (1990), Solomon-Godeau (1997), Mort (1996), Whitehead (2002) and Craik (1993). The interdisciplinary concerns of masculinities studies and fashion is well established in academia including works by Breward (1999a and b), Cole (2000a and b) and Edwards (2006, 2011). My aim here is not a complete survey of literature, but a targeted investigation exploring the influences these perspectives have on the analysis of someone's

life. To begin, I establish that throughout this thesis, I refer to masculinities as a social construct; what follows is an account of this position and my use of it.

Art historian Abigail Solomon-Godeau's perspective on masculinities is useful for my study for its emphasis on process. She states masculinities:

> Bear only an adventitious relation to biological sex and whose various manifestations collectively constitute the cultural, social, and psychosexual expression of gender. Biological sex, in this sense, is thus fundamentally distinguished from gender, which is conceived as a contingent, variable, and inescapably social ensemble of values, beliefs and behaviors [sic] projected and imposed upon the physical givens of sexual difference. Masculinity and femininity are accordingly conceived as ideological formations and therefore inevitably historical, culture-specific, and perpetually in process (1997: 19).

This quote elucidates the difference between biological "maleness", the "culture" of masculinities and the theoretical study of masculine identities and representations. My imperative is simply to acknowledge that these themes run through the thesis, offering a rich vocabulary to describe gendered identity (for a critical approach see Butler, 1990 [2007]: 34; and Beynon, 2002: 2). I suggest that, given current literature and debates, stability in definitions of masculinities is unfeasible. Tynan was, and Strong and Reed are not, simply "masculine", referring to philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble*. Masculinities is not the preserve of men, and femininities is not the preserve of women (Butler, 1990 [2007]: 167). Tim Edwards elaborates, describing how 'identity is socially constructed, dynamic and open rather than natural, inevitable and fixed' (2006: 100). It is the culturally-constructed action in masculinities which I aim to emphasise throughout this thesis: choosing, purchasing and wearing clothing is not a fact of masculinities, but an act of masculinities.

Applying definitions of "identity" and "representation" to the three case studies is relevant in interrogating how Tynan, Strong and Reed used clothes as a carapace through which to construct a representation of the chosen image of themselves in the broader context of evolving theoretical frameworks surrounding masculinities from the 1960s to the 2000s. Historically, definitions of masculinities have focused on an ability for production and power, but in the last 40 years this power has shifted to attention to a man's appearance as much as to the work that he does (Edwards, 2006: 8; 111). This shift in theory surrounding masculine performativity reflects the focus of this research. It is perhaps no coincidence that these subjects were purchasing fashion from the 1960s to the 2000s, when women's fashion and associated goods (such as beauty products) were the dominant focus and larger profit earner for the fashion industry. All three subjects have, or did, work in creative industries or pursue creative pastimes. They had the funds to participate in the changing demands for masculine attire at this time. They wore clothes purposefully: to represent a creative persona to the world, as evidenced in the following analysis of an ensemble Reed wore in the mid-1990s by Comme des Garçons (CdG).

Comme des Garçons boiled wool ensemble T.45:1-6-2011

Reed purchased an autumn/winter 1994-5 collection CdG black ensemble designed by Japanese designer and company founder Rei Kawakubo consisting of a boiled wool double-breasted coat, floor-length pleated boiled wool kilt, large square scarf, a leather belt, black corduroy trousers, and a pale striped rayon and wool shirt. Whilst most of the pieces are individually "acceptable" menswear gar-

ments, the kilt was out of context with the accepted masculine fashionable attire in London and the UK at the time, even though, by then, be-skirted men had been seen on designer catwalks by designers like Gaultier.

Malcolm Barnard described how Gaultier's skirts were not accepted by the majority of men, but an alternative was "hiding" behind the seemingly less-gendered tartan kilt (1996 [2008]: 118). In the same year this ensemble was available, Hollander stated (within a context of discussing men's attire in the 20th century): 'men don't wear skirts...' (1994: 111). This kilt was intended for a man, not a woman. Although it is not exceptional for a man to wear a kilt, this was a black kilt, a monotone not in keeping with the conventional notion of a kilt made of a Scottish tartan pattern. The garment is ankle-length, markedly longer than the traditional knee length. These differences disrupted people's perception of, firstly, the notion of only women wearing non-bifurcated garments, and secondly, historical and accepted traditions of tartan-patterned, knee-length kilts commonly worn by men in Scotland. It is a garment that was "framed" differently. When wearing this ensemble, Reed moved within the context of 1990s London – a space equally open and closed to the re-presentation of the masculine silhouette. The accepted code of conduct in menswear in the 1990s, the consumption of and the wearing of clothes to suit fashionable styles of the time, reflects the ephemeral, constantly shifting discourse of masculinities that Pumphrey (1989), Mort (1996), Nixon (in Hall, 1997) and Beynon (2002) describe.

Reed remembers this was the time he started purchasing *Uomo Collezioni*, an Italian menswear fashion magazine presenting edited highlights of catwalk images of designer collections from major Western fashion cities (including London, Paris,

Milan, New York). The images of the 1994-5 CdG collection featured models of all shapes and sizes, including British actor David Thewlis. They are depicted laughing and smiling, 'a merry band of gypsy artists' (*Uomo Collezioni*, 1994-05: 200), wearing layers of textured, shrunken boiled and checked wool garments with raw-edges, oversized and misshapen silhouettes (the jackets were described as going through 'incredibly abusive wash cycles…' [*Uomo Collezioni*, 1994-05: 200]). Journalist Alix Sharkey described the collection (he wrote the article with an angle of searching for men's skirt options) from an elitist perspective:

> Eureka! Rei Kawakubo, she of Comme des Garçons and all those boxy oversized suits of yore, showed a mannish skirt option, pleated like a kilt and worn over trousers. For the gentleman who prefers the longer length, here were butcher's aprons, too. Otherwise, the look was lumpy, frayed, uneven, twisted out of shape and matter; character clothes that appeared on the edge of disintegration, which fashion people will deem intriguing while everyone else is puzzled (*The Independent*, 03/02/94: 29).

Uomo Collezioni featured very few black outfits or kilts. Reed was also scanning UK menswear magazines like *GQ* and *Arena Homme Plus* which occasionally featured catwalk imagery. A version of the shirt was featured in an *Arena Hommes Plus* (autumn-winter 1994: 142-3) fashion shoot priced at £507.

Reed was aware that he was making his choices from the edited versions of the collections presented in magazines like *Uomo Collezioni*. The magazine (approximately £20, an expensive magazine purchase) was published soon after the shows, up to six to eight months in advance of the collections arriving in store. It is unclear how many pieces were in the collection, and therefore how much Reed was basing his selection on. The Paris-based press office of CdG declined my request to view previous look books and other collection ephemera such as press releases

from their archive for this research (email correspondence with author, 25/07/17: appendix 7). Reed viewed images of the CdG collection and thought

> that is the ugliest, silliest thing I have ever seen, that is horrible. And then, a couple of months later, or six months later, when it started coming into the shop, it just worked its way into my brain, and I thought I've just got to get something. Instantly. Of course, the proportions of these things were just so bizarre.… But this jacket from that collection – I thought, yeah, I'm happier with that, I want some of the boiled wool (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15).

His desire for an ensemble from this 'ugly' collection was such that he regularly visited stores like Browns on South Molton Street, talking to staff to ascertain when the clothes would be available. Research of available media and reviewing look books Reed had access to, via sales assistants, reflects his strong desire to own pieces from these collections. Making a leap into a new style of dress suggests someone prepared to experiment with his masculine identity. It also indicates the inexorable movement towards becoming a collector that he was demonstrating by this time (described in chapter four).

Reed's memory was not clear on the purchasing of this ensemble; he believes it likely he would have bought most of the pieces in one visit, a significant financial outlay in one transaction. His process of purchasing ensemble appears systematic and predetermined, but it was not always the case. Sometimes a store would not stock an entire collection, even the brand's flagship site. For instance, for a Gaultier ensemble he would often travel from Browns, to Harvey Nichols department store (Knightsbridge) to the Gaultier store in Fulham to accrue as complete a catwalk look as possible. Occasionally he returned to purchase garments he had previously seen and reflected on.

Figure 1.2: T.45:1-6-2011 CdG ensemble: jacket (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 16/07/14)

Reed's memories associated with the collection include the silhouettes and the effect of the textured boiled wool jackets and shirts. He recounted that he couldn't bring himself to purchase more unstructured pieces from the collection. A garment that was boiled to soften the tailored silhouette was not appealing to him. But he stated he could see the structure in this outfit: 'You know, it's a very straight silhouette with the kilt. The jacket – it fits quite snugly. So, although it is frayed, it has a distressed-ness, I do love it for the structure that it has' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). For him, 'it was just something new, another persona to try on. It was very arty, and it's very sort of "gallery opening"' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). Reed remembers reading at the time about the shorter length of the new trousers, best exemplified by CdG, Krizia and Helmut Lang (see for example Waters, *Arena Homme Plus*, 1995: 194). His shy persona contrasts with an ensemble that, very purposefully, "stood out" in public.

Reed wore the CdG ensemble to the Courtauld Institute of Art (where he studied for an MA in art history, focusing on architectural history, from 1993-4) for lectures or for shopping trips and lunches with friends. He notes 'it's got nice pockets, you can fit everything in, you can wear it all day… there's a flexibility to it. Weirdly, it's black, it just sort of blends in, even though it's obviously quite an extraordinary thing' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). The unstructured double-breasted jacket has two rows of four buttons down the front right panel. The boiled wool kilt with an unfinished hemline has 15 broad knife pleats and a flat panel at the front. It was tied around the waist with cotton tapes. Reed remembers the kilt looked like Japanese samurai warrior *hakama* in shape: these traditional ankle-length trousers or skirts, with deep knife pleats placed asym-

metrically around the front and back, have a similar silhouette to the kilt. The hyper-masculine elements of the *hakama* and the kilt, here are distorted through tone, length, and context, worn with trousers, distressed edges and seams, a narrow shirt that pulled across the chest (described later). Again, it suggests Reed's willingness to experiment with his identity.

Using imagery of these men's clothing, as I do throughout this thesis, is integral to my research methodology. Art historian Anne Hollander stated 'Dress is a form of visual art, a creation of images with the visible self as its medium' (1975 [1980]: 311). From the outset, I aimed to visually present how clothing was used as a tool of identity construction, ergo a form of biography. Hollander reinforces this notion: 'Clothes create at least half the look of any person at any moment' (1975 [1980]: 314). We assess and "read" each other's clothing with predetermined ideas in mind – of a particular fashion style, of the times, of how we are perceived as individuals and within a social group – and from that, we make judgements. As Hollander notes, 'Dressing is always picture making, with reference to actual pictures that indicate how the clothes are to be perceived' (1975 [1980]: 311). Although Hollander's perspective is focused on art history, it is a valuable metaphorical "picture" with which to imagine how we use clothing to constantly construct an identity and how these three men constructed an identity for themselves through dress. Tynan, Strong and Reed shared three things to work with when constructing their identity: demeanour and pose, creative work (or pastimes), and clothing. From the perspective of "reading" these men's clothing, I analysed not only images of the men wearing clothes, but literary analysis and material objects in the museum collections and, in the case of Strong and

Reed, oral testimony. The outcomes highlight the effectiveness of combining these methods in the proposed framework.

Enhancing the analysis of images of the garments, the feeling of wearing the garment is important to explore. How something like this ensemble interacted with Reed's body, the experience of it moving around him, is part of its biography. Returning to his construction of identity wearing this ensemble, his memory of it reflects movement and silhouette: 'Certainly, walking at a brisk pace, you know, there was a lot of movement in the clothes. With shawl, as well. It was a noticeable cloud of black wool. Because it's all so dark, it's difficult to see details from the distance.… It has a wonderful sense of movement' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). He remembers there being a bounce in the CdG rubber-soled wedge lace-up sneakers (with layers of grey, beige and tan in the sole – similar to T.85:1, 2-2011) he wore with the ensemble. The sheen of the high-waisted corduroy trousers (tapering towards, and cuffed at, the ankle) offered a contrasting texture underneath the matt boiled wool layers. Reed wore a beret from the same collection (or an earlier one) to complete the outfit. This formula of image and recollection of movement, texture, colour, and context, was repeated throughout this research.

In Reed's mind, this ensemble created a more interesting effect than others he owned by designers such as Claude Montana (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). There was a juxtaposition between how noticeable it was to wear (a man wearing an ankle-length boiled wool black kilt), yet how it acted almost as camouflage, due to the dense black material. The silhouette would have been unusual worn by a man in the mid-1990s in London. Reviewing sociologist Erving

Goffman's Frame Analysis (1959 [1990]) is productive in imagining Reed traversing London's streets in an ensemble that was not camouflage for the period. Despite being developed 60 years ago, it is a conceptual framework with which to analyse how these men "presented" identity within Western social constructs during the 20th century. Goffman's theory describes how we understand our world through behaviours established via cues, in contexts of time, space, social relations, environment, socio-cultural signs and reference points (1959). Controlling how we wish to be perceived through what Goffman called 'impression management' (1975: 233-7) creates frames of reference with which we negotiate and perform expected roles in our world. When something interrupts our thinking of a thing, when the cues are corrupted, we have to re-negotiate our perception of the situation.[1] In this way, Tynan, Strong and Reed each "interrupted", through their dressed "impression management", accepted "cues" of masculinities clothing behaviours. This will be discussed further in this chapter.

Reed described how there was a bravado about wearing this ensemble: 'It's noticeable… [but] it's not noticeable in the same way as the Westwood kilt [T.53:1 to 9-2011]…. It's a very different look. It's much heavier…. I don't say masculine, but it's perhaps a less gendered look' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). In an earlier oral testimony session, he noted: 'Also, the kilt – it's a real statement, still, for a man to wear a skirt' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). And finally, reflecting on the ensemble over two decades after he was wearing it, he

[1]For instance, we do not question a gilt decorated frame surrounding a Renaissance portrait, because we expect the frame to look and "act" a certain way; we expect to see the shiny gold gilt, we are unconscious of it because it literally fades into the background and we seldom even acknowledge it. The object possesses power through being able to fade into the background. If, however, the same portrait is framed within a clear Perspex frame, we automatically notice it, the context, the dissonance of the traditional artefact framed within a modern, "artificial" framework (Miller, 2005: 5).

noted: 'It's ageless, it's genderless, it's cultureless, it's just good clothing' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15).

This sense of the "masculinity" of an ankle-length kilted ensemble, of something 'less gendered', is worth interrogating further in light of Reed's memories. He is erudite in describing the ensemble:

> I think… to wear it is a very self-conscious rejection of Western fashion. At this time, you know, Versace was going along. That was fashion. Armani, Gaultier…. It was a very noticeable step to wear the Japanese clothes which were, to be honest, quite ugly in a way. There were lots of details – frayed edges, things that had shrunk, things that don't fit, trousers made too short – that just didn't fit into the canon of Western ideas about clothing (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15).

He goes on to state that his wearing of skirts was never an issue for his parents (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). Reed contradicts himself here. He described how he heard via a family member of his father disapproving of the CdG kilt, but in the same testimony session he is clear that his parents accepted his life-long interest in colourful, exciting costumes, cloaks, 'something with a bit of swish' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). This flamboyance, the perceived acceptance by his family of his donning attire such as a black kilt, contemporaneously considered "feminine", are useful insights into Reed's perception of his identity and how he wished to be seen. As he states, 'I was definitely trying to… [construct] a wardrobe in search of an identity' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). The distressed and deconstructed layers of seemingly "untailored" boiled cloth in one ensemble (a rejection of the smooth surfaces of the accepted masculine tailored suit of the 1980s and '90s) reflects a person wishing to manufacture a creative identity with which he could engage with the world he

desired to move within.

Reed's reflections on the word 'genderless', and 'cultureless' two decades after wearing this ensemble which features traditional and contemporaneous masculine and feminine design elements, is provocative and insightful. There are Western (tailoring) and Eastern (the "samurai" look of the kilted silhouette) design influences. It is interesting to reflect on these contrasting perceptions Reed has of this ensemble. From a performative perspective, it was a statement piece, attracting attention, but he also viewed it as camouflage. This suggests the complex perceptions the wearer (Reed) had of his own identity, and the interpretations of the viewer (a person on the same street as Reed) of the clothes.

A full page of *Uomo Collezioni* (a/w 1994-5: 204) is dedicated to an image featuring a row of male models wearing slightly different versions of the deconstructed, distorted shirt, one of which Reed purchased (see figure 1.5) to wear with the ensemble. Made of dark cream-coloured rayon striped with black, the shirt (size large) has a horizontal rectangle of boiled cream-coloured wool inset across the chest, cinching the material inwards. To Reed, this is not an obvious thing to do: 'in traditional Western ideas of male physique, the chest should be larger, whereas [Kawakubo] actually made it smaller. It's particularly the chest, it's not the waist. It's a very different shape' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). This inversion of the accepted V-shape masculine torso (the broad chest and narrow waist of the "ideal" male body) runs counter to accepted masculine norms presented in fashion advertising imagery, sizing regulations of fashion design and gym culture. This purchase is something Reed remembers as a departure from the structured, formal white shirts he normally wore. He thought the shirt beautiful, especially

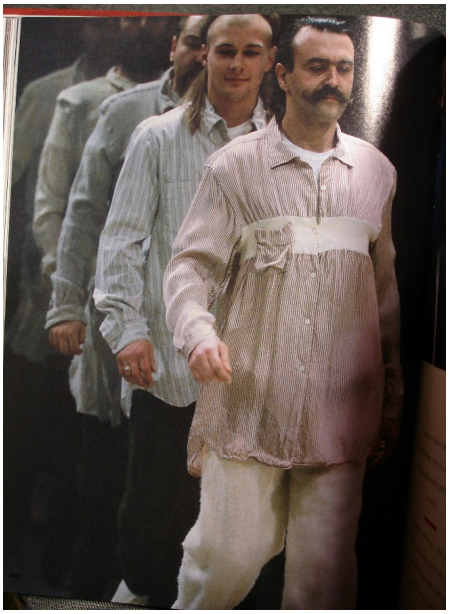


Figure 1.3: CdG menswear collection, 1994-5. *Uomo Collezioni*, autumn-winter 1994-5: 204

the crumpled texture across the chest. Reed sees this shirt as a good example of Kawakubo's experimentation with surfaces and materials. He pondered how the garment would be sellable after being distorted through boil washes and, after these treatments, how easy it would be to standardise the sizes. It is interesting how Reed was very aware of the cost of this experimentation and how it added to the final sale price. He appreciated the design process that went into these garments.

Kilt: 'Scottish skirt made in wraparound style. Centre front is plain with knife pleats starting at side front and wrapping around to the other side or front. Hanging end may be fringed and fastened with a large decorative safety pin. Originally worn by Scots Highlanders in various tartans' (Calasibetta, 1988: 517)

Often viewed as the 'defining piece of clothing for Scotland' (Eicher, 2010: 307), the kilt developed from a traditional form of dress where long lengths of twill-woven cloth known as plaid, was wrapped around the waist, belted, and the remaining material draped around the torso in various ways.]

Figure 1.4: T.45:1-6-2011 CdG ensemble: kilt (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 07/09/16)

Figure 1.5: T.45:1-6-2011, CdG ensemble, 1994-5 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 16/07/14)

Reed remembers wearing as much of the ensemble as London's winter temperatures would allow. It was warm due to the thick, boiled wool layers (the weave becoming felted in the process). He didn't require an overcoat on winter days when wearing this outfit. '…I would have worn it a lot, just like the other Comme des Garçons [outfits]. It's the thing I liked about Comme, you could wear these things and they were just so comfortable, and not formal – you didn't feel like you were wearing an evening outfit all day' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). He wore it many times over a period of approximately two to three years.

What is clear from the purchase and wearing of this ensemble, and through my research was that, in his early adulthood Reed was experimenting with, and searching through, clothes to construct different identities that encapsulated his

gender and his sexuality. He was a young man, in London, able to frequent cultural events and purchase high-end menswear clothing. Through his wardrobes in the museums, he withdrew from UK life to live in France, leaving behind a public identity in the UK. This construction was purposefully at odds with contemporaneously accepted menswear silhouettes of the mid-1990s. CdG as a brand was considered avant-garde fashion, indicated by the visual and literary reportage in fashion magazines like *The Face*, *i-D* and *Arena Homme Plus*. This ensemble featured feminine and masculine attributes, so can be considered, as Reed stated, 'genderless.' It reflects careful narrating of representation and identity construction on his part. I argue he was deliberately purchasing pieces like the kilt ensemble to challenge traditional masculine fashion's attributes. He was wearing as close to catwalk ensembles as he could acquire, fully understanding that in a street context the clothes have a destabilizing effect on normative assumptions of masculine attire. The biography of this ensemble reinforced my perception of a seemingly shy man prepared to challenge contemporary fashion trends, to the point of wearing garments that mixed 'cultureless' and 'genderless' elements, to construct a very deliberate masculine identity using avant-garde fashion as a tool.

Central to this thesis is the concept of demeanour, and the power it has in constructing an "image" of masculine identity. How we hold our bodies in our clothes – the angle of the head, our gestures, holding a cigarette – influences peoples' perception of us. The physical restriction of clothes, as described in Reed's experiences of wearing the CdG ensemble, influences demeanour, which influences how people perceive the clothes and the wearer. We stand in a certain way because it reflects how we feel we "should" stand: we inwardly model ourselves,

according to Hollander, 'on pictures and on other people, who also look like pictures because they are doing it, too' (1975 [1980]: 315). In this way, this visual representation of our identity shifts over time as fashion does, as ideal body shapes change, gestures take on new meaning, and external forces such as social media alters our perception of "truth" and "naturalism" of being in our bodies. We use, as Hollander notes, our physical bodies and our clothing to represent an identity (1975 [1980]: 319) and appear as a member of a group that wears certain things and behaves and presents themselves in a certain, creative manner (1975 [1980]: 347).

Reed's careful adornment of the CdG ensemble and memories of the feeling of wearing it, is reflected in his demeanour; the attitude in personal presentation with which he established a particular image, through choice of clothing and how he held his body. This construction of appearance differentiated him from conventional masculine appearances at the time. Bourdieu's work on difference is productive in my elaboration of how the three men used demeanour to creatively construct an identity, using "differences" in their clothing to subvert contemporaneously accepted masculine representations. For Bourdieu, differences in social class, fashions and demeanour influence people's perception of us, effectively operating as indicators: 'differences function as distinctive signs and as signs of distinction, positive or negative, and this happens outside any intention of distinction…' (1990 [1994]: 132). All three men used creativity as a form of identity, using "differences" in their clothing to subvert contemporaneously accepted masculine representations. Tynan used bright colours, striking silhouettes and a cool demeanour; Strong used classic tailoring "with a twist", mixing colourful ties

and shirts with stylish suits and an articulate, arch media personality; and Reed, like Strong, re-created looks from the burgeoning Japanese designer menswear of Yohji Yamamoto and CdG, photographed in fashionable, exclusive magazines and art publications in designer suits or reproduction 18th century clothing. Reed "stood out" from the crowd in his stylish, fashionable attire, very effectively using clothing to present a narrative with which to construct an identity distinct (as Bourdieu described) from others. I suggest all three men used "difference" to distinguish themselves to varying degrees.

I now interrogate performative theory to support analysis of Tynan, Strong and Reed's behaviours, consumption habits and movements through time and space. Simply put, performative theory claims that all is "performative", whether it be how we engage and respond to the everyday world, or a staged, acted performance existing only for the duration of the script. What this theory offers fashion studies is vocabulary with which to describe how these men performed in everyday life, using clothes as a vehicle. Tynan, Strong and Reed selected, purchased and wore garments in certain places and times. The theory has been critiqued in recent decades regarding performing masculinities by authors including Edwards (2006). Butler herself, whose seminal text *Gender Trouble* marked a watershed in gender theory and performativity studies, later questioned her own theories in terms of constructing identity and what performativity is (1990: vii-xxviii). Performativity itself is now seen to augment and support historical definitions and binaries, based on ideas around consumption, economic, demographic and geographic fields (Edwards, 2006: 115; see also Edwards, 1997; Miller, 2005: 38; McCracken, 1990, xi-xv). Tynan, Strong and Reed wore stylish, often "fashion-

able" garments and performed variants on "masculinities" for their "audiences" – the public, through the media, or with their friends and family. But each of them, at times, transgressed what is considered "fashionable", and "masculine", whether through materials (Tynan and his gold satin-weave shirt), silhouette (Strong and his Issey Miyake voluminous windcoat [BATMC 2009.135.20]), or structure (Reed and the CdG kilted ensemble [T.45:1-6-2011]).

Performed masculine identity is affected by race, gender, sexuality, external and internal environments, class, and, from a social constructionist perspective, *doing* as much as *being* (Edwards, 2006: 100-1; see also Whitehead, 2002; Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2003: 15; Simpson, 1994). This highlights reflections on and criticisms of Butler's work on gender throughout the 1990s and 2000s. Sociologist Stuart Hall's *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*, offers valuable contributions to our understanding of masculinities, and ways of viewing the concept using textual analysis of imagery as a way of gaining insight into representation of sexuality and how men perceive other men (1997: 324-9). The past four decades' theoretical work around masculine identities has presented concepts including the "new man" and the "new lad" of the 1980s, explored by academics including Edwards, Frank Mort (1986: 8) and Sociologist Sean Nixon (see in Hall, 1997; in Morley and Robins, 2005: 373-5). Edwards sees these definitions as largely media inventions, with little resemblance to reality beyond what was portrayed in the magazines of the 1980s and 1990s (2006: 4). Mort explored how visual the presentation of the "new man" had become by the 1980s, for example in adverts for Levis 501 denim jeans, and in style magazine fashion spreads, such as *The Face* and *i-D* magazines (1986: 8). It is useful to posi-

tion Reed in terms of a young man positioning himself in the world in the 1980s, identifying with his gender and his homosexuality. It is useful also to reflect on Strong's positioning, given his eagerness to engage with fashion history and the fashion industry, including hosting a fashion show by Italian fashion designer Gianni Versace in the V&A Raphael Cartoon Court on the 02 October 1985.

Tynan displays behaviours that are precursors to many of these theories regarding masculine identities. Tracy Tynan noted that her father's "middle name" Peacock was productive to mine for significance in his construction of identity (oral history with the author, 07/04/17). Peacock was his father's surname: Ken's double-barrelled surname was Peacock Tynan. Perhaps in a subconscious and subliminal manner he responded to a culturally constructed sense of the masculine peacock, whose self-important awareness and surface display would have undoubtedly appealed to his vanity. Creating the appearance of the "gentleman" with small acts of transgression (his demeanour, the colours and materials he chose to wear), was part of the performance. These behaviours reflect the work of theorists like Martin Pumphrey's research from the 1980s into film studies and audiences' perceptions of masculine dandyism, and Edward's analysis of 2011 (42-3). Both considered the 'threat' people often feel towards men who do not ascribe to accepted "norms" of masculinities; how a man purposefully presenting style is perceived as 'weakness' (Pumphrey, 1989: 87). Pumphrey described how men playing with different styles of dress signified, in the minds of those disturbed by the act, feminine behaviours (1989: 97). People's perception of masculinities was interrupted. Pumphrey asserted, like others, that identity is

> fabricated and learned – is contingent, historical, relational, constantly under negotiation. It accepts that masculinity, like femininity, is a thing of

> surfaces, not essentials. It recognises that the contradictions and differences that are encompassed by what is commonly and abstractly thought of as "masculinity" are not simply external. In a day-to-day basis, individual men inhabit multiple and contradictory patterns of masculine behaviour – patterns that reflect both external structures and the constantly shifting inner negotiations that make up the gendered subject (1989: 97).

This "threat" to masculinities by femininities was explored further by Edwards in 2011, when he noted that even expressing an interest in, and consuming, fashion could be interpreted as "'not masculine"' (2011: 42) or displaying queer behaviours (2011: 43). Tynan's behaviours may have been deemed "queer" to some, but I propose that his vanity and courting attention through his clothes, and purposeful construction of a wardrobe reflecting both masculine and feminine traits, was deliberate.

By the 1990s, the visual and linguistic vocabulary of describing men was rapidly morphing into something difficult to pin down, where men's sexuality and presentation of self was reflecting what feminists had fought against for decades: the body as (sexual) commodity. It was also when the pluralistic term "masculinities" was being used more widely (Nixon, in Hall, 1997). The permutations of "new men" were on public display via the media. It is understandable why Edwards would claim that these were inventions of advertising gurus and companies keen to corner a new and very wealthy market: young men, usually Western and white, hence in more privileged positions of wealth, opportunity and power. As he stated, no doubt inspired by Solomon-Godeau's 1993 article in *Art History*, and book of 1997, 'the crisis of masculinity is a crisis of representation' (Edwards, 2006: 15). Between the influence of the media and unreliable statistical analysis in unravelling elements of masculine behaviours and identity, it was difficult to

accurately ascertain what was occurring in terms of health, identity, work, education, crime, the family unit and sexuality (Edwards, 2006: 8-16). But was this a crisis in definitions of masculinities, or again, simply a media- and industry-driven attempt to capture new and lucrative audiences? "Masculinities", as presented by the mass media, suggests that media-driven trends were supporting ambitious behavioural changes, encouraging the "new man" towards narcissistic behaviours through the purchasing of products produced by a profit-driven fashion industry. In this sense, masculine ideals were being constructed about contemporary modes of behaviour and the sense of a "crisis" in positioning men in contemporary society. The oppressive notion of historical masculinity still prevailed in many contexts, especially when considering people's sexuality. But, like the "new man", these definitions tend to un-fix themselves as soon as they are analysed, when the apparently liberating "new" masculinities is uncovered as a profit-driven imperative. Using masculinities studies, film studies, Frame Analysis and performative theories to interrogate Reed's construction of self through the CdG ensemble is useful in unpicking his perception of his identity.

Analysis of the construction of masculine identities continues with another subject, Tynan, who deliberately capitalised on traditional men's tailoring, yet also challenged accepted notions of masculinity from the 1940s onwards, through his choice, and wearing, of styles of clothing.

1.2 Sartorial Flair: establishing Tynan's life-story

This section introduces Tynan's biography as contextual background to this research; I do this in lieu of oral testimony used for Strong and Reed. Continuing the practice of MCA, I used analysis of a selection of his garments to interrogate his construction of a masculine identity through the clothes he wore on an everyday basis, and how he used his wardrobe to define a creative personality in the media's eyes. A number of publications including two biographies, one by Kathleen Tynan (1987 [1988]), the other by academic Dominic Shellard (2003), a book of his letters (Kathleen Tynan, 1994), and edited diary extracts (Lahr, 2001), describe his life-story from different perspectives and in enough depth to make it necessary only to present an edited history with which to establish context for my analysis.

Tynan was a theatre critic, writer and literary manager (or *dramatürg*). Born in Birmingham in 1927, he appeared to spend the rest of his life erasing his financially comfortable, yet complex family situation from his personal history. His parents, Rose Tynan and Peter Peacock, were unmarried. Peacock divided his life between Warrington as the town's mayor (between 1913 and 1919), his wife and family, and running a number of successful businesses, and in Birmingham, also running many businesses, but living with Rose. Tynan's attitude to this socially unconventional history suggests a complicated ambivalence; he wrote, in 1962, of his status as 'a bastard' (Bardach, 2001; see also Tynan, 1988: 19; 75). On one of his first dates with Elaine Dundy, he described himself as illegitimate ('Reputations: Kenneth Tynan.' BBC Radio 2, 1982). To deny one's social background could have been a socially fashionable stance to take at the time; to be seen as bohemian

is something it is likely Tynan would have exploited.

Tynan studied English Literature at the University of Oxford from 1945 to 1948, where he enthusiastically engaged in the university's Dramatic Society, both acting in and directing performances. He married twice; first to author Dundy (married 1951, divorced May 1964; one child, Tracy Peacock Tynan); and then journalist and author Kathleen Tynan (married 1967: two children, Roxana and Matthew). Tynan lived most of his life in London, regularly travelling to Europe and America for work and holidays. He wrote, amongst many others, for the *Observer* newspaper and *New Yorker* magazine, and was literary manager for the National Theatre in London. What he is best known for is his writing on and criticism of the theatre and profiles of musicians, actors, the cultural and political elite. He, Kathleen and their two children moved to Los Angeles for his health in 1976. He died there on 26 July 1980, aged 53, from advanced emphysema exacerbated by a rare congenital condition affecting his lungs and a lifelong – and well documented – smoking habit. He is buried in Holywell Cemetery, Oxford.

Social class is relevant to Tynan's presentation of the self. To Tracy, her father was very aware of not belonging to the British upper class. She stated that he admired the class system, and resented it at the same time. According to Tracy, her father's clothing was one way of distancing himself from rigid social structures:

> I think the way he presented himself, and his clothing, was an attempt to put himself outside of class, in a way. And I think that's a thing that a lot of people did in the '60s.… That was the moment when suddenly being working class or whatever was chic. He wasn't working class, but, you know, it didn't seem to matter so much anymore. It was about your accomplishments. And I think that's why he found America so attractive, because it's supposedly classless – of course, it's not! – [But] It has that spirit (oral testimony with the author, 10/05/17).

Continuing this narrative, Tynan declared himself anti-royalist, yet he invited members of the monarchy, including Princess Margaret, to his parties; he was flattered by their presence adding to his social prestige. He loathed censorship and suppression and encouraged amoral behaviours (including his own sado-masochistic inclinations. Tynan, 1988: 231-2; 284; 309; 331-3), but often lacked the fortitude to defend his stance (Reputations: Kenneth Tynan, BBC Radio 2, 1982). Political journalist Anthony Howard noted how 'All his life, he liked to shock – and the more conventional the company, the greater his gratification' (*Reputations: Kenneth Tynan*, 1982). Theatre director Jonathan Miller remembers Tynan describing himself thus: 'I'm a feeling, fucking sort of person' (in conversation with Kathleen Tynan, C1372/140 Part 2, 02/10/82). His interviews on British television in the 1960s show him speaking, surrounded by smoke, his hands cupping his chin as he spoke (*Sir Laurence Olivier: Great Acting 1966 Interview with Kenneth Tynan* website [5/5]). He was very serious about creating extreme reactions, whether it be about his criticism, his clothing or personal life. He used his writing to goad and lacerate others, and yet was defensive of his own work and defenceless against critique, however much he invited different perspectives. Tracy believes Tynan laboured over his writing at times, but she also notes that his personal diaries (that Kathleen gifted her) were very well written, with few amendments; he was carefully crafting a narrative of his own life (oral testimony with the author, 10/05/17).

Figure 1.6: *Forty Years of Fuck on British Television*. Kenneth and Kathleen Tynan.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oceKoVcf5zw

(Accessed 07/03/17)

In Tynan's writing on people he often described their appearance. Tynan wrote in an essay on comedian Mel Brooks how 'He is wearing a dark blue coat, gray [sic] slacks, a light-blue shirt, and a striped blue tie…' (1979: 260). This observation, where the author describes their own, or others', clothing or appearance, is invaluable in constructing a sense of their own dressed identity. Although Tynan was not very self-reflective when it came to his character and inner self (Tynan, 1987: 58; 120), he was conscious of the clothes he and others wore. Sartorially, Tynan made great efforts throughout his life to make a statement. His construction of a creatively dressed masculine appearance, mannered demeanour, the vanity of

not wearing glasses when they were probably required, are the actions of a proud, vain man, aware of how he was performing to an audience – his family, personal friends and, via newsprint and television media, the public. His childhood friend, Julian Holland, remembers him wearing a purple suit, perhaps made of corduroy, in Birmingham around 1942-3; he noted that he was 'a person who was always going to be noticed and seen. He had a physical advantage in that way' (Holland in conversation with Kathleen Tynan, C1372/027, part 1: 08/03/1982). I interpret this flamboyance of colour and texture of material as a reaction against the seeming conventionality of the first 18 years of his life in Birmingham amidst a contemporaneously unconventional family situation: he craved attention, using shirts like a patterned Mr Fish to attract it.

Mr Fish patterned shirt and attached tie (T.493:1, 2-1995)

Figure 1.7: Mr Fish patterned shirt with attached tie (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 15/01/14)

Shirt: '…garment worn on the upper part of the body, usually consisting of a buttoned front, a collar, and long or short sleeves. Possibly the most important item in the male wardrobe after the suit, the shirt has always been considered the symbol of a gentleman' (Steele, 2005: 162). From the 17th century, shirts were considered undergarments, used to protect the outer garments from body excretions (Skov, 2010: 291)

In figure 1.6, Tynan reclines whilst Kathleen pours a drink into broad champagne glasses: the effect is bacchanalian. The couple are wearing what appear to be floral-print garments. Tynan's dressing gown has a white base on which red and pink flowers are printed. It is difficult to define the colours of the shirt, but, going by the many printed and woven patterns of the shirts I analysed at the V&A, I assumed it is, like this example, patterned. It is a provocative fashion statement, worn by a man in his forties. This long-sleeved shirt is from Mr Fish, a stylish British menswear brand known for its luxurious and colourful materials and well-made garments (Ross, 2011: 104). The woven label states the address 17 Clifford Street, London W1 and (neck) size '16' (inches). It is an apt example of the type of clothes Tynan was wearing in the late 1960s (it dates from post-1967, the year the emporium opened). It is boldly patterned in bright lilac, salmon and gold colours. There is some material deterioration of cloth in the obvious places – the neck, cuffs and button holes, indicating use.

Applying Hollander's concept that dress is image-making is revealing. Was Tynan constructing an image that reflected his perception of what a creative man should look like? Exploring the inspiration he found in the dress and style of jazz musicians, his particular way of holding his cigarette between middle and fourth finger, dressing to emphasise his long body and limbs, such as the Tommy Nutter jacket analysed in chapter two, it is clear to a fashion or socio-cultural historian that he was basing his creation of self on a very mid-20th century "cool" style. The revitalisation of the UK was sparked in "cool" swinging London in the 1960s, as 'youth, pop music, fashion, celebrity, satire, crime, fine art, sexuality, scandal, theatre, cinema, drugs, media' modernised the cultural landscape, in line

with American and European modernity (Levy, 2002: 6). Tynan closely aligned himself with fashion, celebrity, satire, sexuality, scandal and theatre. The stylish suits, the way he allowed himself to be photographed in a very studied manner, and contemporary descriptions of him as a "character", strongly suggest he was purposefully using clothes and demeanour to construct a representation of a mid-20th century writer, *dramatürg* and *bon viveur*. He was, in a metaphorical sense, wearing his illegitimacy, through bright shirts and accessories like boldly-patterned ties, disrupting established masculine ideas around dress.

Tynan cultivated an elegant silhouette to flatter his height and long limbs (he was six feet two inches tall). He had good posture, walking tall, always with a cigarette. On the cover of both Kathleen's biography and Lahr's edited diaries, Tynan is pictured holding a cigarette between the middle and fourth finger. To Tracy, 'his demeanour was very much defined by his cigarette. I mean, there's rarely a photo without it… [a cigarette] was, I think, his accessory' (oral testimony with the author, 10/05/17). During the American years, he was aiming for a very cool appearance, and the style of jazz musicians like Lee Morgan and Miles Davis influenced how he presented himself (Tracy Tynan oral testimony with the author, 07/04/17; 10/05/17).

Tynan was consciously crafting an identity of a creative man through pattern, silhouette and material. As a student at Oxford in the 1940s he wore 'creamy silk shirts' and a bright green baize wool suit (now lost) and a long cloak with red lining (Tynan, 1987: 51). This crafting of creative identity was a life-long pursuit; a decade later in the mid-1950s when he was living and working in London, a picture of Tynan shows him wearing ocelot-fur patterned print trousers (figure

1.8). Tracy described her father as a performer,

> [A]n actor *manqué*.... He would rehearse… if he was having a dinner party, he would often talk the day before – "O, I think I'm going to bring up this, and I'm going to talk about this"…. There's that quote of his – to rouse people and get people agitated. That was his mission. Not in a nasty way, but in a "let's keep the conversation alive, let's make it controversial" (oral testimony with the author, 07/04/17).

Scrutinising his clothing using MCA, I argue Tynan carefully crafted a creative identity that he wilfully brandished, not only like, but as an actor with cigarette as prop. This invention of character and demeanour, a transformation of wit and charm, was a performance – the act of performing his life for his audiences.

Tynan was prepared to pay for style and properly-fitted clothing, paying attention to detail and colour. It is prevalent in the visual material to find him pictured in relaxed, domestic scenes and in public. Tracy notes 'He wasn't an immaculate dresser… but he was very careful. Things were pressed, things were nice. He never had a handkerchief or a pocket [hankie] – there wasn't that level of detail or precision…. But I think he loved clothing and he appreciated it, and he wanted it to be well-maintained' (oral testimony with the author, 07/04/17). His haircut altered little throughout his life, a long fringe swept back from the forehead. According to actor Laurence Olivier (friend and co-worker), he had an elegant, slightly effeminate demeanour (1 CDR0025452, 04/08/1983). Tynan was in a position to be able to engage with clothes due to his financial privilege at times in his life, to create an artful "un-careful" appearance; much like Reed and the CdG ensemble described earlier.

Figure 1.8: Kenneth Tynan with Tracy Tynan, 1950s (source unknown)

Evidenced through MCA and comparison of items in the collection, Tynan's wardrobe consisted of stylish, formal day and evening-wear, expensive and inexpensive items and a large collection of ties. He was not someone who altered his style of dress for different circumstances (Tracy Tynan, oral history with author, 10/05/17). Considering the objects he surrounded himself with, particularly his clothes, it is evident Tynan wore what he wished to wear, regardless of social context. He mixed high and low culture, including fashion, with ease, appearing sophisticated and reflecting a popular cultural affectation amongst creative people at the time.

Considering the life-span of garments worn like the Nutter jacket (T.514-1995, analysed in chapter two), the age and provenance of a Patek Phillipe watch his father gave him on his marriage to Dundy, and other garments like the faux-fur collared overcoat (V&A T.490 -1995, c.1965-69, analysed in chapter three), Tynan was more interested in provocation than the latest fashions. He retained certain garments, having them repaired and caring for them. As described in chapter two, the different repairs to the Nutter jacket indicates professional and non-professional hands at work. He was someone who was prepared to wear clothes for their effect, rather than worrying about the look of a repair, or holes in the materials. Tynan's effective use of clothing is evident in the visual material available. This, combined with my MCA of his clothing, finding these repairs and altered states of his clothes, influenced my interpretation of his life and the biography of his clothes. These garments become 'heavy with consequence' (Crooke, unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013) as I unpicked their biographies through MCA and object-based research.

Tynan wore many of his clothes hard, corroborated by MCA. It can be safely assumed that, due to increasing penury towards the end of his life, he was unable to purchase clothing as often as he once had. The materiality of his garments would also have been due to his weight gain and loss in the final years of his life. This would place physical stress on different elements of the garment – material, stitching, wear and tear on different components of the garment as his body mass increased and decreased. Analysing images, it is apparent Tynan was slightly overweight in his middle age. By 1978, aged 51 he weighed 142 pounds (see driver's licence, chapter two). Tynan's lifelong smoking habit could also have caused some

of the damage to the garments (neat round holes on sleeves). As is emphasised throughout this thesis, the wearer's physicality and habits impact on the materiality of their worn clothing, but it also informed my understanding of them as men, which informed their life-story.

Figure 1.9: *Forty Years of Fuck on British Television*. Kenneth Tynan
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oceKoVcf5zw
Accessed 07/03/17

Tynan's penchant for bright, colourful ties, such as those by Mr Fish, is evidenced in the number in the V&A collection (31, including bow ties). It can be assumed that, for at least a significant part of his life, and given he was not a man for collections (see chapter four), purchasing ties was for a reason: to accessorise his daily formal or semi-formal outfits. This is corroborated by Tracy, who remembers him wearing a tie nearly every day when living in London (oral tes-

timony with the author, 10/05/17). Analysing visual evidence, augmented by Tracy's memory, Tynan did not wear a wedding band or any other jewellery or accessories other than cufflinks and the Patek Phillipe watch.

Figure 1.10: T.573:1-2-1995, pair of white Freemans shoes (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 22/01/14)
Shoe: '…foot-covering having sole, heel, upper no higher than the ankle, and some means of fastening' (Picken, 1939: 129)

A contemporary of Tynan's, Strong's life is well documented, including two volumes of diaries (1997, 2016) and a memoir (2013), and through television and print media interviews. There is extensive moving image material available as he

has presented television programmes. In the next section, I again present biographical information relevant to his life to amplify my narrative of his clothing choices.

1.3 Constructing biography: Strong

Strong also presents very personal, particular approaches to his dress and presentation of self but with a more sustained interest in high fashion than Tynan. Going by visual evidence in the scrapbooks, in both his private and public life, he dressed in fashionable, stylish clothing. A wealth of textual material was available in these books Strong kept at his home in Herefordshire, and excerpts from his unpublished diary (which his publishers gave me advance access to), due for release in 2020. Photographs were carefully selected and edited for the scrapbooks by him and Trevelyan Oman, significantly adding to their own biography: these images 'bring their own materiality' to the visual analysis (Mitchell, 2012: 11). Recent research reinforces the importance of materially analysing the images I interrogated, as much as the clothing (see Rose, 2002: also Mitchell, 2012: 98; Pink, 5; and Pauwels in Pink, 2012: 250-6.). With very public and professional positions as museum director, journalist and television presenter, he was portrayed in the media as an arch, opinionated, narcissistic character – a profile he did, nor has done, little to disprove. The scrapbooks capture much evidence to prove this. The following section begins exploring fashion choices Strong made to ascertain the ways he constructed an identity using masculine dress. I extrapolate from this the more general proposition of the performativity of adorning oneself for private and public audiences.

Strong was a curator at the NPG from 1959 until 1967, when he became the surprising choice as director (he was 32 years old at the time). He left the post in December 1973 to take up the directorship of the V&A in January 1974 until his resignation in 1987. Since then Strong has authored many publications on gardens and British history, presented television programmes, and consulted for various organisations on cultural matters.

Strong worked in London during the 1950s and '60s. At the time, masculine fashion retailing rapidly gained traction in venues such as Carnaby Street (Mort, 1996: 155; Berg, 2010: 300). Fashion manufacturing in the city responded to the young tastemakers and designers, and stores like 'Vince' and fashion entrepreneurs like John Stephen attracted a rapidly growing market of men willing to spend on clothing to "fashion" a masculine identity for themselves (O'Neill, 2000). The geographic location of the city, the multi-cultural influences, the art schools producing makers and designers, combined with media attention, created a 'vibrant consumer culture' (Berg, 2010: 299). This market-led approach to consumerism was encouraged in later decades, with the UK's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's key Conservative government programmes of the 1970s and '80s, leading to fashion's increasing turnover (Mort, 1996: 159), particularly on the UK's high street. Tynan and Strong were active participants in the rapid rise of easily accessible (at least, in London), relatively affordable stylish, fashionable clothing in the 1960s. By the 1980s, Strong was living near high street stores like Next, and he was also heavily investing in fashionable and stylish designers like British designer Tommy Nutter.

Strong and Tynan actively engaged in the burgeoning media, where their identity

was presented to a wider audience through newspaper photographs and writing, and television programmes they were invited to be on. What images the newspapers chose to present, and what was edited from television programmes (and what remained) invariably influenced how others perceived them and, to an extent, how they themselves perceived their public personas. But, again, they actively chose to participate in the media, so whether these perceptions were encouraged by both men is productive to analyse. Media presentations influenced my perceptions of them. The constructions of their identities was very much entwined with the media coverage they attracted and encouraged. Strong didn't have family connections – he was a lower-middle-class young man going from 'nowhere to somewhere' (2013: 279). Strong managed to establish himself amongst the ruling classes of British society who still dominated the arts and culture in the 1960s and '70s. At the same time, this was when working class heroes and kitchen-sink dramas were influencing the creative industries of the UK at the time. Strong established himself through educating himself, working hard, changing his accent and taking on an arch public persona – and wearing fashionable clothes. Strong was using masculine fashion, and particularly suits, to establish himself as a *bona fide* museum director and academic that encouraged a media eager for personality-driven news and imagery.

By the 1990s, Strong's purchasing of designer clothing had not abated since the 1960s. The overall quality is relevant to the narrative. Although most of his wardrobes in both museums' collections was factory-made (there is very little bespoke tailoring or other individually-made pieces), Strong's keen eye for design meant he often chose high-end menswear designers for his wardrobe. These in-

cluded pieces by Giorgio Armani, John Rocha, Nicole Farhi, Issey Miyake, Yohji Yamamoto and Versace. He describes giving a speech at the National Portrait Gallery in a Nicole Farhi frock coat (03 October 1996. Strong, 2016: 210). He was purposefully presenting a fashionable façade – smart, aware of trends and engaging with them to construct different ensemble that suited his public appearances – in the media, presenting television programmes or public talks.

A comparative analysis of Strong's wardrobes in the V&A and FMB collections reveal that he was constructing a biography of a collection of clothes (see chapter four). This insight adds to our understanding of him as someone who understood the power of the media and who could manipulate it to an extent to create a public persona. By his early adulthood he had found a style of single-breasted, slender jacket that suited his body shape. He regularly purchased Nutter suits during the 1970s and '80s, evidenced by the numbers in both collections, and descriptions in his diaries (on 12 October 1987 he purchased two suits and two ties at Nutter's of Savile Row [1997: 423]). Nutter established a fashionable tailoring business on the traditionally conservative street of 35a Savile Row in February 1969. The designer flouted many established Savile Row traditions, creating a vocabulary of high quality, classic tailoring for men and women, but shifting the silhouette through shorter-length jackets, square shoulders and narrow sleeves, highlighted with "youthful" touches such as wide revers, flares and stylish, contrasting fabrics (Davies, 2011; Ross, 2011: 130; Richardson, 2018: 285). Nutter shrewdly and stylishly maximised the branding of the company through modelling his own designs in fashion shoots for magazines like British *Vogue* (see figure 1.11). Through changes in the business, Nutter's brand continued under

the management of cutter Edward Sexton. Strong was purchasing suits from the second permutation of Nutter's design career, when he opened a store for ready-made and bespoke garments at 18-19 Savile Row in October 1982 (Richardson, 2018: 269, 283).

Figure 1.11: British *Vogue* April 01 1971: 9, featuring Tommy Nutter (as model) in 'Men in Vogue'

Nutter's focus in this second iteration of his business was the 1980s 'New Men,' wearing suits that befitted the new decade, a time of high levels of wealth for the few which meant increased spending power (Richardson, 2018: 283). Strong was purchasing ready-to-wear suits, which Nutter described as a 'classic, Savile Row cut…' (in Richardson, 2018: 285). Strong recalls:

> During [my] V&A years, Tommy Nutter could always be relied on to produce something which was very English[2] but with a twist to it and so lift the directorial garb into something different – I got suits there and things like the watered silk waistcoats. And overcoats. It was always a deliberate expedition [to go to Nutter's] (email correspondence with the author, 27/01/17).

People like Strong were wearing this clothing to be seen as fashionable and stylish, men prepared to flout masculine-dressing conventions, and don suits with wide lapels, flared trousers, tapered waists that flattered the body, in petrol blue worsted flannel (Richardson, 2018: 285). By dressing in this designer's clothing, the wearer would have known they were inviting strong responses from the traditionally conservative tailoring fraternity of Savile Row. Nutter can be deemed a provocative designer (Cannon-Jones tutorial, 12/09/18), and Tynan and Strong were wearing the clothing to provoke responses. The fact that Strong was a director of National museums with traditional histories in 1960s and '70s UK, wearing Nutter's clothing is evidence of a provocative, theatrical professional dresser, carefully managing representations of the self for the public through the media.

At this point in the thesis it is productive to analyse the suit, a quintessential masculine ensemble, pervasive over the last 400 years, that appears in all three men's wardrobes, using one of Strong's many examples.

[2]For discussions on the Englishness of dress, see Breward et al., 2002.

1.4 Suits

Historically, the suit has been perceived as typifying masculine dress, a "uniform" as psychologist John Flügel described it (1930: 112), heavily influenced by military tailoring and proportions (utilitarian plainness, cut close to the body for ease of movement), the piety of religious taste (sombre, sober), and, amongst others, Ottoman silhouettes (Charles II's vest). In its modern guise of jacket, waistcoat and trousers, it has pervaded men's wardrobes since the 19th century (see Chenoune, 1993; Hollander, 1994; Edwards, 2011; Breward, 2016). Since the 19th century, the standardised suit of jacket, trousers and waistcoat of the same cloth in varying fashionable silhouettes (narrow shoulders, wide waists; wide shoulders, narrow waists) has dominated the masculine dressed appearance: from parliamentarians, designers, office workers and miners; from the public to the private space (Flügel, 1930: 111-12; 213). Through the different cloths, silhouettes and personal tastes of the client, suits have, historically, offered endless permutations of colour, texture, weight, and usefulness (Breward, 2016: 13). As a classic male garment, the suit implicates the wearer in its historic and cultural construction.

It is useful to explore this further through understanding how Tynan, Strong and Reed used the suits they wore to convey a masculine self-identity. The sense of dignity and uniformity the suit offers was appropriate at times, meeting their needs for roles such as the literary manager, the museum director, or the serious art collector. But the suit was not a regular requirement in their lives; the need to appear "respectably masculine" was reflected in these men's choices of what they deemed appropriate at the time and for what function. Tynan wore safari suits; Strong wore fashionable designer suits with slip-on shoes; Reed wore suits made

of deconstructed fabrics and finishes, mixing feminine and masculine design elements. These reflect fashions for sporting and informal wear in 20th century menswear fashions (Edwards, 2011: 46). They all, in their own way, subverted the "suit". For instance, Reed's use of the suit became something other than professional wear. He was, in essence, using suits to highlight elements of his persona, from playing the louche impresario in his relaxed Giorgio Armani suits in Venice (figure 3.24) to wearing pince-nez and stiffened high collars with his slender, Edwardian-styled Romeo Gigli striped linen outfit (see chapter three).

All three men wore suits to create very different images of themselves for specific contexts and audiences. Not only the ready-made ensemble itself (jacket, trousers and sometimes a waistcoat), but the entire construction comes in to play here: from how the suit is accessorised (the colour of the shirt or tie, the shoes, the bag), to how the men themselves "wore" the suit. I now analyse demeanour in order to re-focus attention on physical characteristics of the garment as much as on the attitude of the wearer (evoking Woolf's belief that clothes wear us as much as we wear them [1928: 92]). Edwards noted that much fashion studies analysis of the suit failed to acknowledge this element of the worn masculine garment (2011: 60). I examine the materiality of the objects, to observe ways in which clothes move around the body, and track the materiality of the worn garment and the way these men wore their clothes (the pull of cloth across certain parts of the body; the stains of everyday living) to enhance my understanding of their biographies. It is productive to analyse one of Strong's suits to interrogate these elements further.

Gianni Versace white linen two-piece suit T.51:1-2 – 2007

In 1987, Strong was photographed for *YOU* magazine (Byam Shaw, 1987) wearing a white linen suit by Versace, now in the V&A collection. The public and private are two important concepts threading through Strong's life. Sometimes, the line blurred between the two. Strong actively engaged with the media to carve a career in documentary presenting, particularly after leaving the V&A. He used the media to help construct a public persona, reflecting his private interests and style choices. He purposefully chose very stylish garments like the linen Versace suit to wear for filming and still imagery. He constructed a public identity that was stylish and light in colour, tone and demeanour, in contrast to his career as museum director, when his wardrobe was more sombre, formal in tone and silhouette. Two-piece (jacket and trousers), this suit is manufactured in a lightweight white linen with very little lining, suggesting this was designed for warmer seasons. A pale satin-weave label with 'Gianni Versace®' woven through in dark brown thread is zig-zag stitched to the inside front right panel of the jacket with mid-brown thread (coming loose at the top right corner). Strong purchased the suit around 1990, five years after they had become friends during his staging of Versace's fashion show in the V&A. Strong remembers 'In my V&A period, Harvey Nichols was to hand but nothing like the designer Valhalla it is now. But I used to shop there a lot and the sale was always worth watching for snapping up things which otherwise I would hesitate to buy as it was too expensive' (email correspondence with the author, 27/01/17).

The materiality of the white linen Versace suit is revealing age, but not only to do with Strong's wearing of the ensemble. The pale yellow staining on the white

Figure 1.12: T.51:1-2 – 2007 Gianni Versace white linen suit (business cards found in external left breast pocket) (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 20/07/16)

linen – on the jacket at the back collar and cuffs, on the trousers at the top of the back right pocket and inside waistband – could have emerged post-accession as the textiles age and chemicals in deodorants degrade. This is proof of the biography of the object continuing beyond the wearing of it and once in the museum collection, and why it is important to consider these garments as part of a wider collection when stored within a museum.[3]

[3]See Brodie (2016) on the story of a linen bedsheet and a photograph of a woman in 19th century dress anonymously donated to the V&A in 2006. Embroidered on the sheet were six sets of initials. The biography of the bedsheet shifted as research revealed different meanings and permutations.

Figure 1.13: T.51:1-2 – 2007 Gianni Versace white linen suit (inside jacket detail). Accessed Clothworker's Centre, 06/11/15. Suit: The suit became, as described by Flügel and interpreted by Steele, an 'emblem of official power and professional identity, suggesting a life free from physical toil' (2005: 237). The three-piece suit has been the basis of a masculine wardrobe since the late 19th century. In the 20th century, it has taken on a more youthful, stylish, trend-driven appearance, with lighter-weight materials and mass-production making them a wardrobe option for a wider audience who are able to clean them more easily than in the past.

The things contained and found within pockets is a constant thread throughout this thesis, and I perceive them as an integral part of my research process,

as material objects in themselves to be analysed. Inside the breast pocket of the front left inside panel are two business cards of Strong's, indicating his title and degrees, his address and contact details. The style of the business cards offers evidence to assist dating objects, given that a particular style of card that Strong would have used during a period of time. Much information is gleaned from the dates, places, event, times, and process of purchasing things on ticket stubs, sales receipts, and hotel invoices. The "detritus" found in the pockets of these men's clothes heavily informed my research outcomes. The question I asked of this material was, do museum curators purposefully keep these objects? In the case of both museums, it is evident they did.

Strong's postures and bodily movement is evident in these garments, affecting how and where creasing took place. Creasing is evident at the front trouser crotch and tops of the thighs, and backs of the knees, in keeping with the easily creasing nature of linen. The jacket sleeves crease at the crook of the elbows. Given the shape of Strong's body (he is able-bodied), these are the expected places where creasing would likely occur for someone standing, sitting, and walking. This type of evidence has been taken to forensic levels by forensic scientist Richard Vorder Bruegge (1999) and art historian Kitty Hauser (2004; 2005), who described how each crease in each garment is unique to the person who wore it. This is the logical next stage of research on these wardrobes, but beyond the scope of this thesis.

I began this chapter using Reed's clothing as a way if establishing how masculine identities are adorned and worn. Having examined the use of the suit to present a masculine identity, using Strong as a subject, I now return to Reed, to contex-

tualise his biography, and examine his representation of self and construction of identity more thoroughly. Like Tynan and Strong, Reed actively used different ensembles to present different representations of his character. Unlike them, there was less textual information to work with to examine his life-story. This dearth of information was countered to a large extent through MCA of his clothing and oral testimony interviews. I argue that this proves the success of combining the research methods to interrogate his construction of an identity through clothes.

The next two images highlight how one Versace suit was used by Strong in different ways to construct personas for different public audiences. In one scrapbook, a black and white photograph of Strong depicts him staring to one side, his oval dark-framed glasses, side-swept hair and full moustache graphically framing his angular face. Gaunt cheekbones and slender neck present him at his lightest weight. The visual evidence of the imagery in these scrapbooks are invaluable records in tracking Strong's weight and his hairstyle changes, as much as his mutable fashion style choices. He has accessorised the white suit with a floral tie. He rests his right arm on the neck of a rocking horse as he holds a panama hat with a dark band. The highly-contrasting image, of pale suit and light streaming through the window, is framed by dark curtains, walls and shadows on the front of the rocking horse and floor. The angle of his body is jaunty, his stare serious.

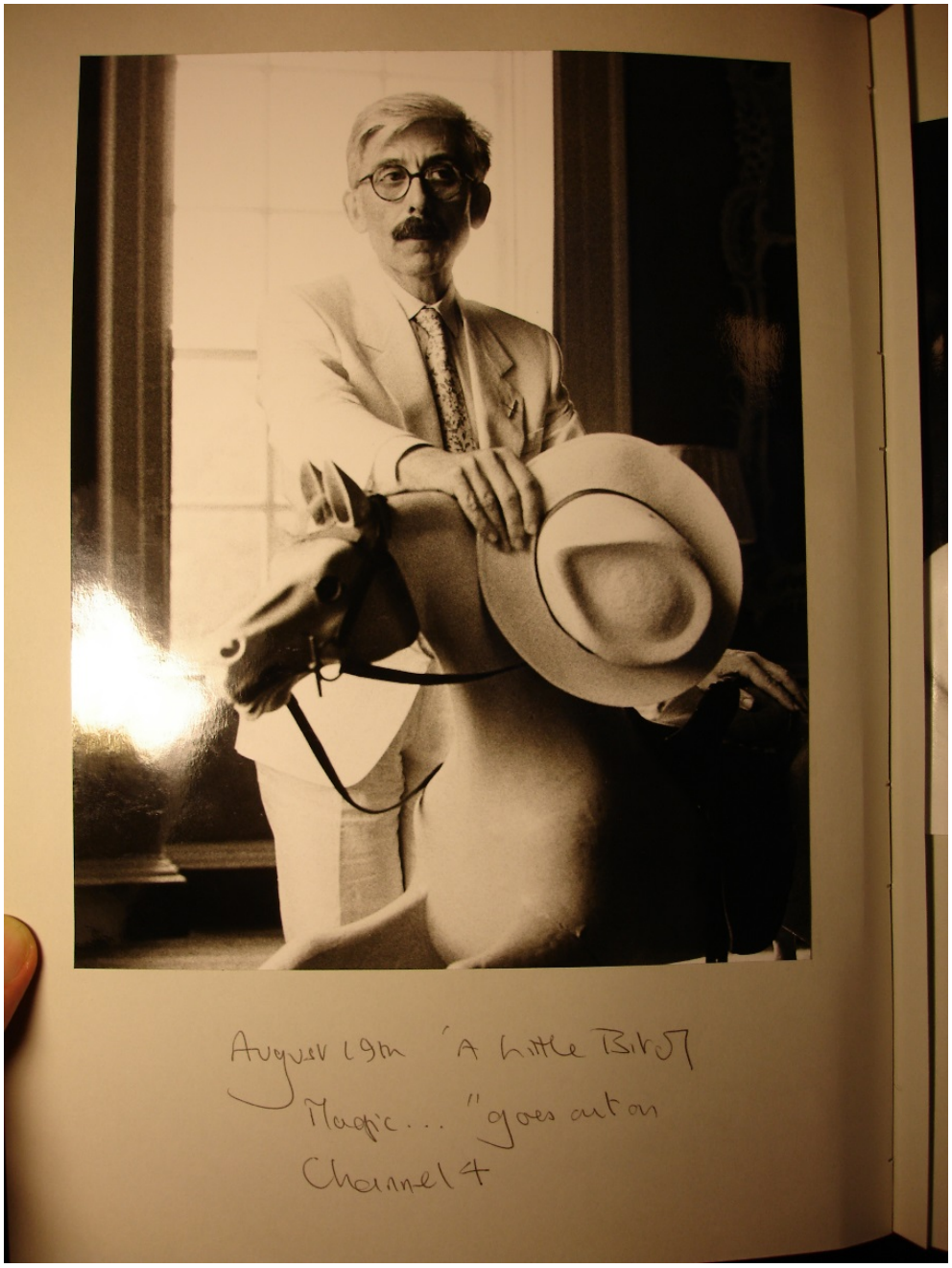


Figure 1.14: (Scrapbook 'xx 1985 May to July' (accessed 15/12/15)

In contrast to figure 1.14, this colour photograph from 1987 shows Strong having fun with the photographer and viewer. The colour of the image instantly softens the contrasts evident in the large floral arrangement, and the classically-draped fabric that acts as background to three-quarters of the frame offers subtle, rather than stark, shadows. The large gold frame and flower arrangement references historical portrait painting: given Strong's professional background, this is a clever construction of someone depicting themselves from a certain privileged position (only the wealthy could afford to patronise artists and have their portraits painted). Strong's winsome gaze over the top of his half-glasses (this time, pale- rather than dark-framed) and light panama hat are balanced by his dark moustache. A dark floral-pattern tie and intaglio ring off-set the white shirt, Versace suit and slip-on shoes. The descriptor lists Strong's ideal presents for his birthday (23 August). On his list of 'most acceptable presents' is a 'Gianni Versace suit £475' (Byam Shaw, 1987: 42-3) – it is safe to assume the one he is wearing. The same suit is used by Strong to purposefully construct two very different public personas.

Figure 1.15: Strong wearing a Gianni Versace white linen suit (scrapbook 'XXVII 1987 June-Aug.', accessed 16/12/15)

1.5 Fashioning Identity: Reed's biography

Reed was born on 05 August 1971 and adopted as a baby. He was brought up in Sutton on Derwent, near York, as an only child. Reed's parents ran a successful caravan manufacturing business from which Reed's life-long independent wealth stems. He moved to Southampton to study towards a BA (Hons) in philosophy, going on to study for an MA in art history at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London. He lived in the capital for a decade. He now lives in Northern France, with a flat in London, and a home in Yorkshire. Reed had a safe and secure up-bringing, with older parents (who he described as middle class) offering him a calm, quiet childhood.

Reed's teenage years and young adulthood in the 1980s and '90s coincided with menswear designers and producers responding to the increasing demand for more stylish, fashionable clothing for men to wear. This was driven partly by the growing exposure of designer and non-designer clothing in British style and fashion magazines like *i-D*, *The Face* and *Arena*. Increased purchasing power encouraged magazines to present visually exciting ways of styling new fashions. Aligned with this, an increasing attention on street style was feeding this demand for information. The increasing number of popular culture lifestyle programmes on television, such as those presented by television entertainer Jonathan Ross, who wore designer clothing as part of the stylish representation of British youth, further captured imaginations. During his teenage years, Reed remembers see-ing late night weekend television programmes, including *The Old Grey Whistle Test*, *The Word, Club X* and the shows presented on MTV (the European arm of the American-based Music Television channel first aired in 1987), as well as

Ross' light entertainment interview show *The Last Resort with Jonathan Ross* (first aired in 1987). These media sources encouraged men engaging with fashionable presentations in the media to see spending on clothing as desirable (reflected in modest increases in spending on menswear, as reported in 1984 in *Men's Wear* magazine). It is evident that televisual popular culture of the 1980s influenced Reed's perception of self, reflected in his developing fashion tastes and expression of identity. He was especially proud of purchasing garments he had seen worn by television presenters, such as Ross. In his mind, he had something 'wonderful and rare, it's been on television. There's a lot of pride in that' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14).

Even before Reed realized his sexuality and his "difference" (see Bourdieu) as a young British gay man at the time, clothing

> was definitely a way of saying, well, I feel different, let's see how that can be projected. And also… perhaps I want to get out – if I feel odd and slightly isolated anyway, wearing a Gaultier suit is certainly going to show people that.… There was much more scope for new ideas and new ways of looking, at looking at the world, and how people look at you (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14).

There is a sense of aspiration in his dialogue, of capturing something in dressing that heightens the presentation of self and impact on others beyond the design excellence of his clothing. This is a model of behaviour Reed was keen to follow, especially after moving to London in the 1990s, studying, purchasing a house and building a wardrobe of clothes that reflected identities he was deliberately constructing. He was aware of how he fitted in with his social and familial surroundings, with a father successful in a business he did not wish to inherit. Instead, he questioned 'Can I, to make myself different, do anything in particular, project

myself, create myself as a person?' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). To him, clothing and hairstyles were a tool for self-expression through which he could re-present himself as a number of different identities.

British style magazines *The Face*, *i-D*, *Arena* and *GQ* launched in the 1980s, offering pre-social media consumers access to shopping information, style and fashion designer profiles, and up-to-the-minute journalism on events and cultural celebrities of the time. Many of these publications focused on the young male market (in 1987, readership of *The Face* was 60% male [Mort, 1996: 44]); editorial and visual spreads purposefully targeted urbane male audiences with an interest in style and fashions, helping to construct the media-driven marketing concept of the "new man". Pumphrey described at the time how the imagery captured in these magazines presented 'young men in groups (not in isolation) inviting the (male) viewer to participate in the obvious pleasure they are taking in dressing up...', and how the images '...not only visibly feminise masculinity but decentre male subjectivity in ways that can potentially shift how individual men locate themselves within power-structures' (1989: 97). The individual was celebrated in line with Thatcherite programmes re-positioning the individual over society (tax cuts for the wealthy, deregulation of financial markets, the regeneration of swathes of urban areas). The emphasis was on consumption of a lifestyle, including clothing (see Edwards, 1997: 73-82). What these magazines presented to men like Reed was choice: choice in constructing, through the clothing he wore, through the magazines he read, through the music he listened to, the information required to craft his own masculine identity. Advice columns in magazines like *Arena* exhorted shoppers to locate specialist, authentic suppliers of clothing – you had to *work*

for your shopping trip, and they were the magazine to help the consumer do that (see Mort, 1996: 78; Edwards, 1997: 74). Reed demonstrably followed this advice, researching his shopping experience, to establish a number of different masculine identities that experimented with non-traditional silhouettes, such as the CdG kilted ensemble, discussed earlier in this chapter.

1.6 'Trying on different personas'

Shopping aided Reed's construction of different personas. He describes watching period drama films like *A Room with a View* (1985), depicting privileged English lives. At the age he was at the time (in his late teens and early 20s), he imagined "wearing a character" for a day, to see how it fitted his growing sense of identity and growing awareness of his sexuality and identity. After viewing *A Room with a View* and, wanting to replicate the appearance of Cecil Vyse (played by Daniel Day-Lewis), Reed wore a light linen and cotton striped suit by Italian designer Romeo Gigli with a boater and pince-nez. He was inspired by characters in films such as *The Draughtman's Contract* (1982), *Dracula* (1992), and *Howard's End* (1992). After watching the film *Gattaca* and seeing how clean-cut the actors looked, Reed's intentions were very systematic:

> with those nice little short haircuts and black double-breasted suits and white shirts and black ties. And I think I just went around everywhere, buying a black double-breasted black suit, white shirt and a black tie. Almost encyclopaedic: I've done Armani, I've done Prada, I've done Donna Karan, and where's next?! Just looking at the spectrum of things… even on a narrow scale (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14).

How fashion was presented in these films shifted his perception of dressing. By

1993 Prada, Helmut Lang and Jil Sander's pared down aesthetics were fashionable. Using clothing as a vehicle, Reed was able to present, through garments that appeared similar but were in fact, through material analysis, quite different in texture, materials and design ethos (from Armani to CdG), a series of personas with which to express his identity.

For Reed, the opportunity to "try on" different personas and express his identity was an important factor and drove his love of fashion. Reed worked hard to achieve a look; in conversation, he noted that his interest in designers like Gaultier and Yamamoto made him question:

> can I actually do that? Can I take that leap with myself, with something that is so unfamiliar? Let's see what it feels like. And outside reflecting inside, trying on different personas. Different ways of thinking, and certainly different ways of moving' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15).

This reflected his day-to-day experience: 'if you wear a pinstripe Armani suit, people are going to treat you differently than if you were going to wear [a] Gaultier Hasidic thing!' (T.58:1-8-2011: oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). He realised these different personas through purchasing designer menswear clothing. He was constructing a very particular representation of his masculine self. As a gay man, he chose not to don what Mort refers to as the contemporary "gay clone" uniform of Levis 501 jeans, short hair, check flannel shirt and workboots (Mort, 1996: 176; see also Cole, 2000a and b, for an oral history perspective on twentieth century male homosexual dress). He was subverting the clone look through focusing on clothing that did not overtly represent a conventional homosexual self. In many ways, his clothing (such as the CdG and Gaultier ensembles) represented wealth, an urbane man, cultured and sophisticated. It was in

his wearing of Vivienne Westwood's clothing where Reed transgressed his own boundaries, completing the look with Donna Karan opaque stockings with short "pansied" breeches[4] and high heeled shoes. This sense of constructing a creative, persona and fluid identities was very important to Reed, as described earlier.

To Reed, using clothing to exert his identity was about 'showing off, power, placing yourself in a social hierarchy' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). He concentrated on the visual presentation of things, and how:

> clothing became… a very good signifier. It's also quite a subtle one, the multiple layers… ways of reading it. Certainly there would have been a criticism of a lot of this fashion at the time – it's not masculine, it's not feminine, it's particularly bizarre. But, then, if you're wearing it, you can always say, well "it's fashion, it's not my decision". You can project an image and also distance yourself from it… at the same time (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14).

It is interesting to note this separation Reed presents between what he chose to purchase and wear, and "blaming" the *outré* styles of some of his ensembles for being too "fashion". Many of his ensemble were designed with particular cultural references, potentially volatile ones. Reed was projecting an identity to the world, yet removing himself from blame if a look was challenged. This was the risk he took to appear fashionable.

Reed was also in the milieu of London in the early 1990s, the main shopping streets – Oxford, Regent and Bond Streets and Piccadilly – lined with an extensive range of fashion outlets. In 1987, Gaultier described London as a stimulating environment: 'It gives me energy. It's something about the ambience' (Mower, 1987: 64). Whatever someone's perspective on consumerism and capi-

[4]Short breeches with "panes" (panels) of material laid over a lining or undercloth that is pulled through for decorative purposes (Planché, 2003: 56-8; 386).

talism (from the social deprivation, riots and homelessness shattering the myth of London as the city of "opportunity for all", or the wealth of products and services to purchase), London was thriving creatively. Reed's arrival in the city in the early 1990s to study at the Courtauld gave him the opportunity to actively participate in sourcing the new menswear designers that had emerged either as a response to, or reaction against, the 1970s and '80s. He also had access to the private clubs, gallery openings, parties and events where he could publicly "out" different constructions of his representation of self.

By the time he moved to London, it is evident that Reed's awareness and appreciation for design was developing. He was "trying on" different styles, from his clothing to his domestic environment. He went from a 1980s flat in Southampton, decorated by himself in faux-eighteenth century style, to the rigorously minimalist interior of an early Victorian house in Little Venice, northwest London where he lived until his move to France in 2000. This contributes to our understanding of him carefully constructing a sense of identity in his private space through the objects that surrounded him, including his clothing. He was also studying art history, and his eye would have been trained to "read", visually and metaphorically. Reed's interior influences for this house was inspired by a magazine article on British architect and interior designer John Pawson, whose rigorously minimalist aesthetic was fashionable at the time (see Hall, 1983; 108-119). He notes this style was a revelation for him, a blank canvas on which he could reflect his interest in art, fashion, interiors and design (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). His art collection was noted by art writer Louisa Buck in her publication *Moving Targets 2: a user's guide to British art now* (2000) where she pre-

sented profiles on contemporary art collectors. Reed is depicted as a self-assured, stylish young man in minimalist mode: slicked-back hair and wide-shouldered suit. Buck presents his collection of austere, contemporary art including works by Jenny Holzer, Carl Andre and Keith Tyson against a background of plain white walls, describing him as one of the UK's youngest and most vigorous art collectors, specialising in light works (2000: 198). His art and design collection alternated between these late twentieth-century works, seventeenth and eighteenth-century paintings, and a viola da gamba from the late 1600s. Reed is quoted as appreciating the similarity between the earlier works and twentieth-century works: 'It's a love of geometry and systems – and yet the artist manages to say so much within this framework' (Buck, 2007: 198). Reed reflects on that time

> when I was probably 22 or 23, moving to London, it was, I guess, the culmination of that sort of process of development from seeing, you know, late night, weekend, Channel 4 television, realizing that there's this wonderful, arty, different culture out there. And then, finally, I'm in London, got my own house, I can design it like a John Pawson place, and I can go out and buy the art, and I've got a wardrobe to do it. I've now found my place in the world. At least, I thought at the time. At that time, that felt the right thing (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14).

Reed was purchasing art during the 1980s and '90s, during which the Young British Artists (YBA) movement was popular. For him, it was a thriving time, where he met new people at London gallery exhibition openings and dinners. The clothes created a carapace of appropriate attire for the various groups he socialised with. 'Because I wasn't an artist or terribly creative, to actually wear something creative... the clothes fitted in with that quite nicely' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). He goes on to explain how his clothing became a 'mediating membrane between the life I had and what I ended up with' (oral testi-

mony with the author, 06/11/14). He was constructing representations of self, depending on his mood or environment. His growing art collection reflected his growing wardrobe, and vice versa: austere, minimal, with an occasional flourish of colour and exaggerated proportions.

Reed's move to London also inspired the purchase of more "noticeable" outfits. Until around 2000 he bought brightly-coloured, flamboyant Westwood, Gaultier and Claude Montana ensemble (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). His physical appearance and demeanour altered, sometimes taking on a flamboyant attitude, colourful, ebullient and provocative; sometimes austere and minimal. Like a majority of people with a certain level of choice and financial wherewithal to be able to consume a broad range of clothing styles, Reed wore ensembles to suit his mood at the time. Mort's research into young male consumption patterns (1996) involved interviewing a number of young men who purposefully shifted to London for the lure of contemporary metropolitan lifestyles and choices available in the city (1996: 182-199). This resonates with Reed's life-story; his choices in moving from Yorkshire, then to Southampton to study, regularly visiting London to visit art galleries and enjoy the choices of social lifestyle, and eventually choosing to live and study there. It also offered a relatively safe environment within which he could lead life as an openly gay man.

From 1998, when Reed shifted his focus to a *Gattaca*-inspired, minimal look, cutting his long hair into a slicked-back Eton crop, he wore his more *outré* outfits less. His hairstyle suited a number of looks that he created, offering flexibility to explore different demeanours and silhouettes. It can also be seen as a response to the contraction in financial markets by the mid- to late-1990s, recessions and

instability looming on the horizon following unsustainable outlay and public disaffection (Mort, 1996: 204). Reed was, in essence, reflexively responding, from a personal perspective, to social, political and cultural societal shifts, and this response materialised (literally and figuratively) through his clothing. These were self-conscious choices, borne from an awareness that, not only was the world shifting and changing, but he was personally changing as well.

Reflecting on Reed's treatment of the act of dressing is also revealing of his character. Reed owned at least 40 suits at one point. To maintain order he placed complete ensembles on one hanger in his wardrobe, in colour order (from dark to pale tones). Unlike Tynan and Strong, who mixed different garments together, creating original personas, Reed at this stage in his life purposefully wore preconstructed, catwalk looks. He seldom mixed pieces from different designers. He preferred to wear ensembles that were as close to the original designer's catwalk vision as possible. This gave him the opportunity to try other identities composed by designers. This suggests an orderly, controlled personality and approach to dressing.

With this number of ensembles in his wardrobe, and the number of pieces he regularly wore, he had many garments that were seldom worn, if at all. He kept price tags on some pieces, and although he did wear some of these garments (tags still attached), I take this as evidence of a shift in his thinking, from personal wardrobe to a public collection (considered in chapter four). The space within which Reed stored his clothes (domestic, private) to the environments he chose to wear them in (public, London) are important to map in terms of better understanding how, and why, he wore what he did, and how this interrogation informs

my interpretation of his biography. The next section takes this one step further, using the proposed framework, examining MCA and oral testimony research findings to explore Reed's movement through the fashionable city, and physical "use" of the space to construct an identity through clothing.

1.7 London: Reed's construction of identity in an urban landscape

The spaces Tynan, Strong and Reed moved through influenced the clothes they purchased and wore. Breward (1999b), Mort (1996) and Alistair O'Neill (2007) have explored the relationship between spaces and masculine consumption. Edwards (in Breward and Gilbert, 2006) described the purposeful re-construction of London for consuming fashion after the Second World War. London is a common denominator for all three men: they lived there for significant periods of their lives, sometimes decades. As an international centre for men's fashion, especially from the 1950s onwards, the city provided them with many options of menswear fashion, from the most expensive Savile Row tailoring and menswear designers, to low-budget high street options. For the purposes of this research, it is productive to track the parts of London one subject, Reed, frequented, because the least is known about his life-story. It would be possible, with existing published research, to interrogate Tynan's purchasing practices, such as the work tag on the inside of the Nutter jacket; and Strong has documented many of his purchasing practices in his diaries and memoir. But I chose Reed precisely because the dearth of biographical information, and therefore he is a useful comparator

with which to analyse the effectiveness of my proposed thesis.

Jean-Paul Gaultier quilted coat ensemble T.89:1-5 - 2011

Reed's admiration for Gaultier's designs is evidenced in one particular ensemble from the autumn/winter 1994-5 prêt-à-porter menswear collection entitled *Tarbulbudd'deville*. This collection attracted attention in the media for an embellished Victorian-inspired look mixed with what journalist Alix Sharkey called

> a Mongol barbarian, a fierce warrior with a beard, nose-ring and the tang of horsemanship. He might have been beamed up from Ulan Bator [Ulaanbaatar, the capitol of Mongolia], tweaked by Jean Paul [sic] Gaultier's styling team and sent down the catwalk on wedge-soled platform sandals (1994: 29).

Reed remembers being inspired by the catwalk images in *Uomo Collezioni*. 'I just thought "that is the most beautiful thing I've seen"…. Gaultier, for years and years, I'd always loved his clothes, and I followed him, everything he did. I wanted to try something…. Collections came and went…. But this – God I loved it….' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). Reed would have purchased a copy of *Uomo Collezioni* (autumn-winter 1994-5) featuring Gaultier's collection, showing models sauntering down a narrow aisle, lined with seated guests, wearing shimmering smoking caps or horned hats made of animal print fake fur cloth. He remembers regularly asking sales assistants at the Gaultier store on Fulham Road about when stock would be delivered. He still thinks the collection extraordinary and wishes that he had bought more from it (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). This again reflects the burgeoning sense of the "collection" that, at the time, Reed started perceiving his wardrobe to be.

Figure 1.16: Jean-Paul Gaultier, autumn-winter *Tarbulbudd'deville* 1994-5 menswear collection. Coat detail (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 23/09/14)

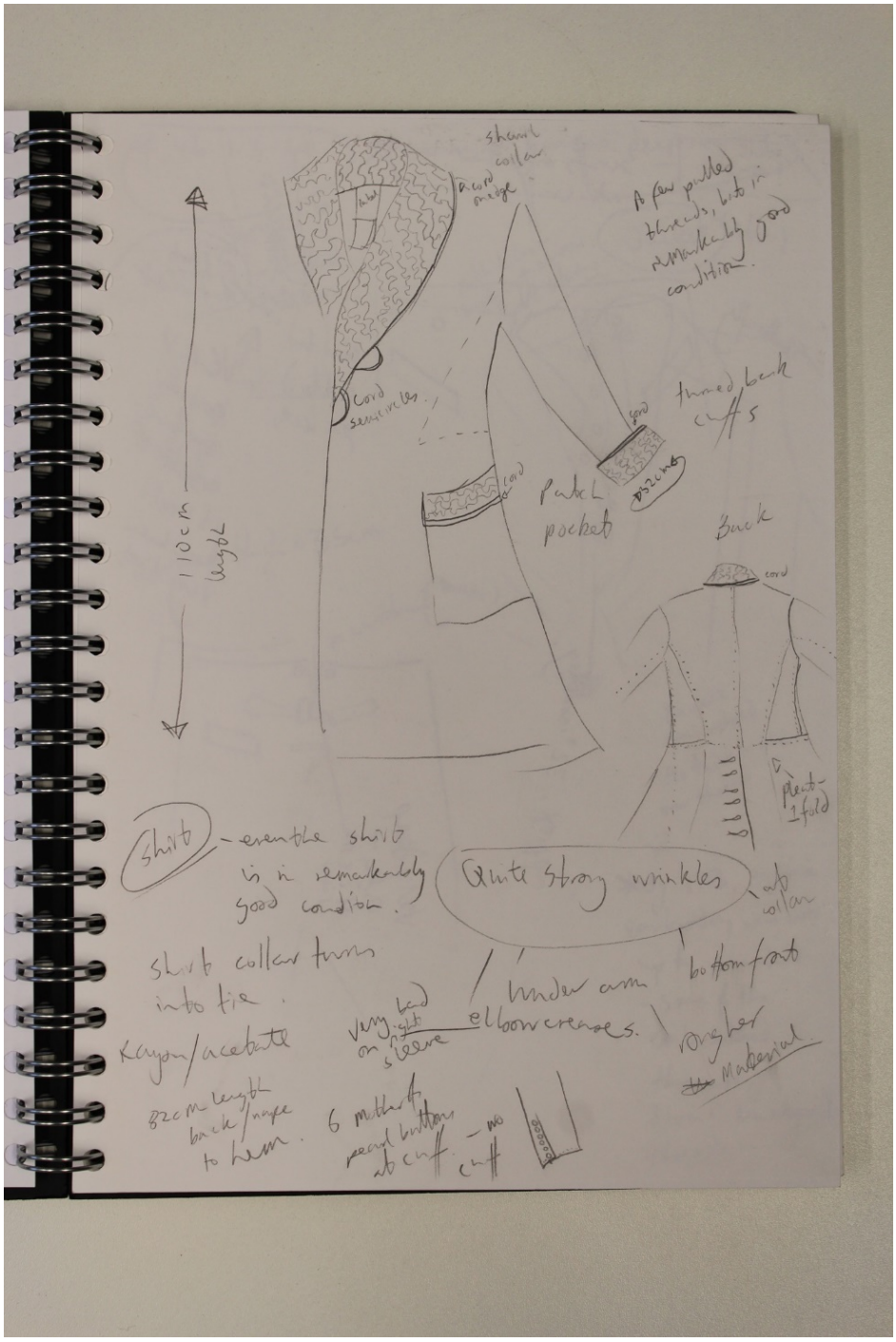


Figure 1.17: Author's notebook. Jean-Paul Gaultier, autumn-winter *Tarbul-budd'deville* 1994-5 menswear collection. MCA analysis (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 27/04/18)

The ensemble Reed purchased consisted of five pieces: a wool coat quilted with a broad diagonal grid stitched in and frogging detail down both front panels; slender trousers with "boot lace" detailing at the front cuffs; a cropped double-breasted wool waistcoat; a red and blue shirt made of acetate and rayon damask woven with a bulls' heads with nose-rings pattern; and a smoking cap. Recollecting the outfit itself, Reed has very strong memories of this being his favourite look in his wardrobe. The outfit contained all the elements of dress Reed was looking for; extravagance, opulence, historicism and detailing:

> I just remember thinking "this outfit – wow!" It seemed to be everything that I wanted clothing to be.… It had this sort of lush, textural quality. It was terribly opulent.… [Gaultier's ensembles] were just so extraordinary and so out of the context of everyday fashion. I was younger, and perhaps more confident, and you walked down the street in this, and it's quite a statement.… Everything matched, all the shapes – tight trousers, tight waistcoat, big expensive coat, a little colour in it, probably just because that's how the catwalk [was styled].… The tassel came with the coat – do I put it on the outside, or do I put it around my waist, and then have the coat open? (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15).

The shawl collar of the coat, turned back sleeve cuffs and inside front panels are lined with what appears to be black satin-weave fabric stitched with a meandering waving pattern, giving a quilted effect. Reed felt comfortable in the ensemble. He also noted that 'you got noticed' wearing it (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). He remembers wearing this outfit as often as he could. He wore it 'probably from… the moment I bought it until I went to France. It's timeless' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15).

Even when he was donning a more minimalist aesthetic by 2000, Reed was not averse to a certain performative element on occasion to his attire. It is interesting to note his attention to getting 'noticed' wearing this outfit. He comes across as

a "shy show-off", someone who noticed when he was being noticed. Gaultier's designs and narratives offered him the opportunity to style and present himself in the way he envisaged an element of his identity. Through this outfit, he could connect with people in various ways: either through commentary by passers-by on the street, or in stores and restaurants, and to gain favour with those who recognised Gaultier's design. Reed wore the ensemble to places like the Atlantic restaurant, a very popular and fashionable venue near Piccadilly Circus.[5] It is a place he expected to be noticed in when wearing Gaultier. 'I think the first time I went in wearing Gaultier [the maitre'd] said "ah, I recognise that!".... and it's like "do you have a table?" "We're really busy, but for you...!"' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). This underlines the power of "impression management" again, using clothing to influence how people perceive what we wear and how they might behave around, and towards, us.

Gaultier did not produce footwear to sell for his collections, so Reed wore designer Patrick Cox's (a fashionable and stylish footwear brand at the time) winkle-picker Chelsea boots in matt black leather. He believed they were the closest approximation to the style of boot worn as part of the catwalk ensemble. This is corroborated by an image in *Uomo Collezioni* featuring the boots the model wore on the catwalk (thick-soled with pointed patent toes, the lacing detail of the trouser cuff covering the top) (1994-5: 316). Reed held the trousers up with braces (not part of the designer's ensemble) as, due to the design details and slender cut, he felt they needed to be held very high on the waist.

[5]The Atlantic opened in 1994 and was known for having a late licence, rare for a London venue at the time.

The ensemble Reed purchased is at the top left (accessed 03 June 2016). The "street urchin" model look became increasingly popular in the early 2000s, with street cast models including Jérome Lechavalier (i-d.vice.com, 2014, pictured wearing the ensemble). The Victorian gothic overtones of the collection, pencilled moustache and "soul patch" beard finished with arrow points, and tiny round glasses contrasted with Lechavalier's spiky bleached hair.

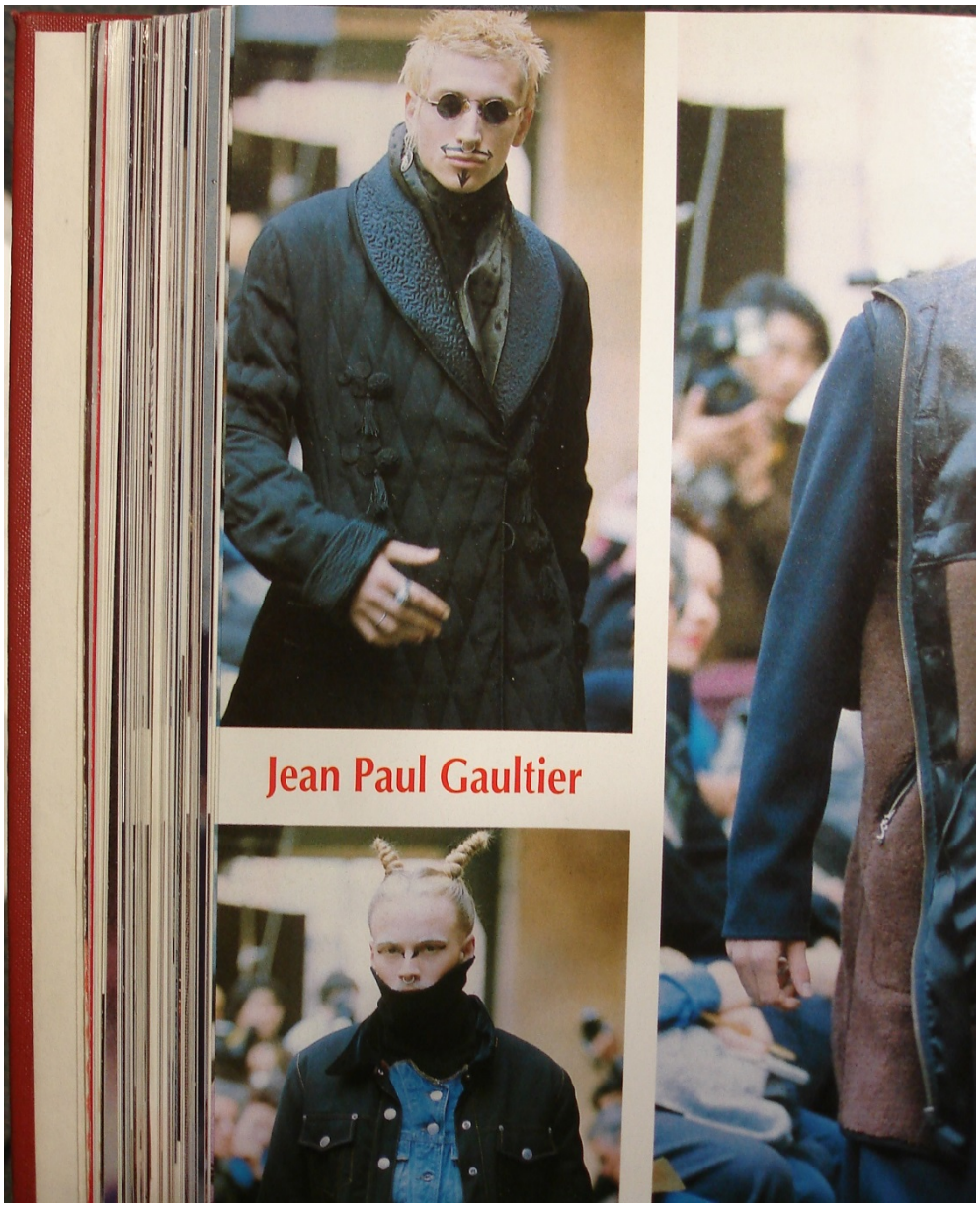


Figure 1.18: Jean-Paul Gaultier, autumn-winter *Tarbulbudd'deville* 1994-5 menswear collection. *Uomo Collezioni*, autumn-winter 1994-5

The image in the magazine depicts the trousers sitting crumpled on the model's lower legs, suggesting an ease to the styling, which contrasts with Reed's desire to create a leaner silhouette. As the slender trouser cut made them difficult to bend down in, Reed had to fasten the boot lace detail (5 holes, 3 hooks) before he pulled them up to his waist. He remembers the physical act of dressing in this ensemble: it was 'quite a performance' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). This is a productive metaphor for the performance of everyday life (see Goffman, 1959) that Reed was presenting to the world, heightened by the challenging 'performance' of dressing in contemporaneous high-end men's fashion every day.

Reed described Gaultier's interest in masculine identities and presentation as something that appealed to him then, as he was 'going through that time when I was wondering how to present myself, what look to have, and this came along at the right time for me…' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). His presentation of self in public, and being recognised wearing fashionable designer wear, is important to interrogate further. Reed talks of a sense of empowerment when wearing designer menswear, being able to step in to an art gallery or designer store, and being taken seriously: 'going into a designer boutique is easier if you're already wearing obviously expensive clothes' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15).

To Reed, this outfit was less overtly a statement piece than some of his other ensemble:

> I remember, with the Hasidic [outfit, from the *Chic Rabbi* collection, 1993-4], it was a statement wearing the hat as a fashion statement. People would comment in good or bad ways. This [ensemble] was pure fashion, it didn't have any political context to it. I just loved it. It's all about shape and texture and detail. It was the sort of thing I would almost be tempted to buy again tomorrow. Things have changed, but… I think it still stands up as a wonderful thing (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15).

For him, the relative fashionability of this outfit, in contrast to the political overtones evidenced in another Gaultier ensemble he owned (and analysed in chapter four), made it easier to wear. Also, a sense of theatricality was evident in Reed's wearing of the ensemble, corroborating a notion of the "shy show-off" that my research led me to believe he was. 'You're really tall, and with the tassel dangling and the coat flapping around… It's obviously… [a] very operatic, theatrical coat. There was a sense of theatre… I felt the need for in life' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). One of his favourite places to spend time in London was Home House where he attended many events, including poetry and music evenings organised by writer Robin Dutt. It is at these evenings where Reed had the opportunity to dress up in some of his most *outré* outfits. For him, 'It wasn't about being silly, but, you know, really taking the whole fashion and dressing up seriously. Quite decadent and dandy…. The [wearing of] excessive clothes really got focused into that [period of time]' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). The Robert Adam interior of Home House was an appropriate environment for Reed's sense of theatricality, and a place where audiences would appreciate his provocative style. His choice of clothing for these events – often dramatic silhouettes and textures, betraying attributes associated with feminine attire at the time

(such as stockings and high heels), but directly influenced by traditional masculine attire (the "pansied" breeches and the historical archer's jacket) – reinforces this notion of challenging the boundaries of what acceptable "masculine" attire was in the 1990s and early 2000s.

As described previously, it was important to Reed that others identified the garments, and that they recognized them as a complete ensemble. Using London's spaces, including the streets, restaurants and private clubs, his representation of his identity was very purposefully styled on the ensemble resembling the catwalk look as completely as possible. But despite his great appreciation of the clothes themselves, Reed believes he was not influenced, in his appropriation of complete catwalk ensemble, by the actual styling of the Gaultier shows, where models from agencies and street-cast people were styled on gothic and ethnic influences:

> That didn't particularly do it for me. I certainly wasn't going to bleach my hair to match it. I remember I had long hair at the time. For me, the styling was just so bizarre, a combination of Victorian and ethnic. The sort of silk dressing gown... worn over one shoulder like a Mongolian Yak herdsman, the bulls, and nose-rings (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15).

This was not what appealed to his sensibilities and his dressing in and styling of the garments. It should be noted that, being tall and slender, he would have been able to carry the garments as worn by the increasingly popular thin, androgynous body shapes of male catwalk models used by designers like Gaultier and Hedi Slimane at Christian Dior menswear during the 1990s and early 2000s (i-d vice.com website, 2014). It is imagining Reed wearing the garments that helps paint a picture of a very fashionable man, so keen to follow a designer's vision that he purposefully planned for and purchased as complete a catwalk ensemble as possible. This suggests someone driven to create a particular, stylish representation of his

Figure 1.19: Jean-Paul Gaultier, autumn-winter *Tarbulbudd'deville* 1994-5 menswear collection. Trouser cuff detail (front of trouser. Accessed Clothworker's Centre, 23/09/14)

Figure 1.20: Jean-Paul Gaultier, autumn-winter *Tarbulbudd'deville* 1994-5 menswear collection. Nylon and acetate shirt (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 23/09/14)

masculine self to the world on the streets of London.

To continue this discussion in tracking the biography of objects through London, it is important to contextualise what is meant by space, as it influences how it is perceived. Eugene Rochberg-Halton asserts that 'the meaning of the things one values are not limited just to the individual object itself, but also include the spatial context in which the object is placed, forming a domain of personal territoriality' (1984: 352). The everyday space, such as the city street, the domestic and occupational environment, affects researchers' and curators' perceptions of people, and the objects they are surrounded by such as their everyday cloth-

ing. When that space, and when those objects, are suddenly presented in other environments, such as a museum, significance is altered (again, referring to Goffman's Frame Analysis). Relationships to those people, the space, and objects, such as their clothes, are irredeemably moved into realms of material and immaterial meaning. This is what interests Peter Stallybrass. For him, objects are 'both... material presences and they encode other material and immaterial presences' (Stallybrass, 1999: 38). Expanding this notion, constructing the biography of an object comes into its own when we consider the material and immaterial qualities of objects in different contexts, times and spaces.

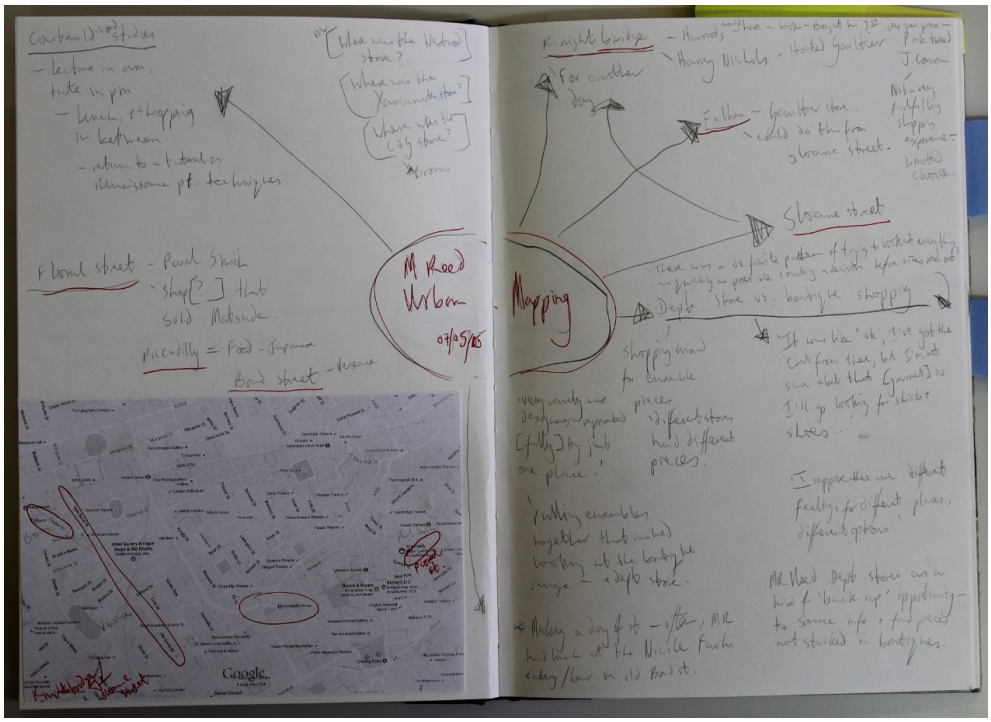


Figure 1.21: Author's notebook 'Mark Reed: research.' Mapping of Mark Reed's journey through London

Since the 1980s within the field of human geography, researchers have been viewing the space that we live and move in, whether physical or metaphorical, as 'representational systems' through which identity can be viewed (Mort, 1996: 7). The production of meaning, construction of identity and the negotiation of everyday life have been repeatedly analysed within a framework of consumption, the spaces within which these "transactions" have taken place, and our relationship to them. In the biographies of Tynan, Strong and Reed, their lives were impacted upon by purchases – whether the everyday (food), significant (a house), and their clothes (both everyday and significant purchases): the spaces they moved within to make those purchases is part of the experience. The rapidly changing urban environment of London, from 1960s fashion trends to governmental policies of the 1970s and '80s encouraging increased consumerism, the singular "I" (the individual) accruing wealth and goods, the disintegration of social cohesion[6] and diminishing investment in the cultural sector, actively impacted on how Tynan, Strong and Reed moved through it. Their identity, and how they chose to represent themselves in these spaces, was affected by the changing urban scene. Shops, restaurants, cafés, universities, work places, theatres, museums, domestic spaces shaped and defined how these men represented their identity, helped by the fact that they had choices; financial, professional, personal (see Mort, 1996: 11, 149-182).

For Reed the experience of moving through the streets of London in the mid-1990s was 'a day for myself: bookshops, clothes shops, have lunch, and perhaps meet up with someone in the evening' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15).

[6]The selling of social housing and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's statement 'There is no such thing as society' revealing her perception that society cannot think, only individuals think and need to take responsibility for themselves (Keay, *Woman's Own*, 1987).

When he didn't have study demands at the Courtauld, he walked the shopping thoroughfares of central London and the membrane of streets connecting them (as imagined at the beginning of this chapter). Walking was a form of travel Reed seemed to prefer, as it came up regularly in oral testimony. His studies at the Courtauld meant he was often in lectures on weekday mornings and tutorials in the afternoon. Between these sessions, he regularly combined lunch with a walk from the campus on Southampton Row (near Kingsway and Waterloo Bridge) to nearby Covent Garden, an important central London shopping hub. On Floral Street, stores like the Paul Smith store (number 44) and Jones (number 13) were regular ports of call. Reed often moved on to Piccadilly Circus where he ate at one of a number of Japanese restaurants. The Junior Gaultier store was off Carnaby Street, at 28 Foubert's Place. If he had time before afternoon tutorials, Reed walked west to Old and New Bond Street. He visited stores such as Gianni Versace (34-36 Old Bond Street) and Nicole Farhi (at 158 New Bond Street), where he sometimes ate at the restaurant that was in the basement of the designer's flagship store. He remembers the experiences of being inside spaces like Versace. The shop closed in 2002, but in its time was 'just extraordinary! It should almost have been listed – mosaic floors, marble panelling – just like [the designer's] houses' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). On its opening in 1994, *Time Out* magazine (a London-based listings magazine for shopping, culture and events) described the Farhi store as 'contemporary and minimal', with American Oak parquet flooring and a mixture of modern and antique furniture and fittings (1994: p. 32). Although, by the time the store opened, Reed was still wearing brightly-coloured Gaultier and Westwood ensembles, the effect of the pared-down aesthetic may have influenced his eventual move towards a more

minimal silhouette, just as the maximalist space of Versace would have encouraged his other masculine personas – a provocative mix of colour and silhouette.

Reed often walked northwest to South Molton Street where he remembers visiting designer stores like Browns. Reed visited Knightsbridge and Sloane Street, where until late 1997 the Yohji Yamamoto store was situated (number 163, near Harvey Nichols, before moving to Conduit Street at the end of that year). He moved on to Fulham and the Gaultier store (171-175 Draycott Avenue). He would visit areas of London that tended to be more convenient to fit in with his work and studies. For instance, he seldom explored the stores of King's Road, even though World's End, the famous Westwood store, was at the far end of this street known for its fashion outlets. Instead, as it was closer to the Courtauld and his house Reed frequented the Westwood store at 6 Davies Street (open until the mid-1990s before it moved to Conduit Street).

These memories, the physical environment he was surrounded by and his interactions and relationships with store staff was noted by Reed as an important component of the shopping experience.[7] Reed remembers purchasing garments from places like Harrods, but he did not often view the department store experience as fulfilling. For him, 'I suppose there were different feelings for different places, different options' viewing the department stores as a "back up", where he sourced ideas, compared stock and prices and found pieces not always available in designer shops (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). Reed conceded that 'certainly, nobody ever needs one of those elaborate outfits. You can always settle

[7] See Edwards, 1997 for a discussion on masculine shopping as experience, most notably for luxury goods rather than everyday items like food (96-7). See also Craik, 1993 (2003) on shopping, men's magazines and advertising (192-7); and Gilbert in Breward and Gilbert on fashion capitals as sites of consumption (2006: 28).

for something else. But, if you really want it, figuring out a really good season, [then] let's have a look around' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15).

This statement "let's have a look around" is interesting to pursue. Reed had an active, systematic process to purchasing, involving conversations with store staff and scanning magazines and television programmes for information, often purchasing individual pieces of an ensemble across a number of stores across London. 'Sometimes putting together an outfit was a three-day trip. I don't want to end up with something, spending money… then going to the next shop and thinking "that's so much nicer!" So, there was a pattern.… Eventually you build up an outfit, but it may not be… going into [just] one place' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). Some items, such as the fake fur hat worn with the Gaultier ensemble on the catwalk may, Reed believes, have been for window displays for the Draycott Avenue store. Through building friendships with store staff, he felt confident asking whether items like these were available for purchase. He also remembers that, later in the season, when store buyers visited suppliers in Paris they placed orders for catwalk ensembles that did not go in to production. This not only reveals his nascent collecting tendencies, but reinforces his desire to construct an identity through his dress.

For Reed, one of the most enticing aspects of this Gaultier collection was the historical references, from Victorian and Georgian cuts and accessorizing, world clothing and gothic details in crushed velvets, to animal faux-fur and graphic prints. During the 1990s, Reed began appreciating, and seeking out, historical menswear. For him, historical dress had always appealed to his sensibilities, and was reflected in his love of films, music and theatre based on historic narratives.

When he saw Gaultier infusing historical dress detail into modern clothing design it offered another opportunity to present different versions of himself. He was able to 'pretend to be anyone. I remember walking down Bond street one day, probably with long hair, pince-nez glasses and top hat, Victorian-style frock coat by Dolce e Gabbana, and an ankle-length cloak I'd picked up in Venice, and wafting… like Gary Oldman in *Dracula*!' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15).

This particular Gaultier collection greatly influenced Reed's dressing at the time. Within a broader cultural milieu in the UK, it is important to contextualise Reed's fascination with historical dress. In 1992, film director Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (starring Oldham) was released, as was *Howard's End*. Both films used period costuming; from *Dracula*'s 17th, 18th and 19th century-inspired silhouettes, to the Edwardian styles of *Howard's End*. Gaultier's adoption of 19th style can be seen by comparing a photograph by Napoleon Sarony, of playwright Oscar Wilde from 1882, wearing a quilted shawl-collared double-breasted jacket with frogging detail (Breward, 2016: 131); similarities of detail and silhouette are evident. The designer's romanticised, luxurious, historically-influenced silhouettes – shawl collars, quilted surfaces, astrakhan textures and surface and applied detailing – inspired Reed. He noted how the coat is 'cut more like an 18th century coat at the back, but looks like a 19th century coat [from the front]. There's very much a Georgian feel to these little pleats at the back. And all the buttoning – that's pure 18th century styling. I loved… the opulent frock coat, the historicism to it, the sheer detailing…' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). The quilting on the padded coat reflects earlier design incar-

nations designed by Gaultier, including the *Chic Rabbis* women's collection of autumn/winter 1993-4. The *passementerie* buttons stitched in a layered eight-pointed star and petal pattern adorn the front of the double-breasted coat (three buttons on each front panel; frogging detail next to each button includes three whorl-pattern flat disks in a triangular pattern), and the back vent (six single buttons). The effect and movement of the historical detailing, swaying as he walked and the elegant silhouette would have made for a very striking presence. Reflecting on Reed's memory of the movement of dress is productive, in understanding the sense of theatricality he felt towards dressing. The performativity of wearing the ensembles (tassels swinging on the coat as he walked), the way the garments moved on and around his body, adjusting garments that slipped or moved, impacted on his demeanour and pose.

In this chapter I analysed Reed's approach to dressing and his fluid perceptions of representation and his purposeful, focused approach to purchasing as complete an ensemble as possible. I undertook close reading of the oral testimony interviews I conducted with him to explore his travels across London. Reed methodically engaged with different identities via different designers like CdG to manage his image and representation of identities. I undertook this to present a background to his life-story, and offer insights into his approach to his construction of personal masculine identities. Comparing his dressed appearance to Tynan and Strong, it is evident there are similarities in their ways of using clothes to manifest identities. Even across different timescales, a certain theatricality in dressing for a public was evident – be it for the media, or the streets of London.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented how Tynan, Strong and Reed constructed, in very considered ways, masculine identities, both public and private, through the clothing they wore. I did this to establish my argument for using clothing as a conduit through which to view someone's life-story. I analysed concepts of contemporary masculinities as a social construct, using theorists including Solomon-Godeau, Butler and Edwards to problematize the fluidity of narratives. This was productive in light of these men's use of clothing to construct and present to a public and private world their identities. The act of "wearing" clothing as representation of the masculine self also contributed to my interpretation of the way each man chose to construct and present themselves. Using Goffman's Frame Analysis theory to interrogate this, an ensemble like Reed's CdG kilt proved that the construction of a personal and public self is immersed in performative elements, the choices made and the audience that these garments were intended for.

Reviewing the theories of Pumphrey, Mort, Edwards and Nixon encouraged me to construct profiles of Tynan, Strong and Reed's lives. It is evident that not only were the men constructing a sense of self through their clothing, but others were also constructing a sense of these men's attire from their own perspectives. These men worked with audiences – their families, co-workers, and the media to construct public personas, presenting themselves as flamboyant creatives who used their clothing to maximise these narratives. Tynan wore brightly-coloured garments such as the Mr Fish shirt, and Strong played with different identities in his white Versace suit. Although Reed's life was more private than Tynan's and Strong's, he was also very public in his presentation of a constructed identity,

heavily influenced by the burgeoning lifestyle and fashion media of the 1980s and '90s. He was able to maximise his presentation of a stylish, fashionable man in the Gaultier ensembles analysed.

Using Reed as an example, the rich narratives to be mined through mapping his journeys through London, for shopping trips, attending university, or enjoying a social life significantly contributed to my understanding of his presentation of self, and the construction of a series of "identities" he was literally "trying on", using clothes as a carapace. Understanding how theorists (including Breward and Gilbert, O'Neill and Edwards) approached consumption practices and space enabled me to view London as a space that allowed Reed to construct his identities. This was productive not only in my constructing a life-story of him, but an understanding of how he, as a young man seeking different identities with which to express himself, explored masculinities in private and public spheres. This exercise greatly enhanced my insights into all three men's perspectives on the representation of their individuality and identity, which informed my construction of their characters.

As researchers, we are usually working with other people's objects to which we have no attachments. The interpretation of the meaning of objects is considerably affected by the researcher's own sense and construction of identity and representation. In this light, how do we give these objects meaning? This question is one that the following chapter on material culture interrogates further. I argue that researchers can capitalise on the evocative narratives these clothes present as individual objects, biographies, collections, and material culture. It is the last that I turn to next, to better understand how the materiality of clothing

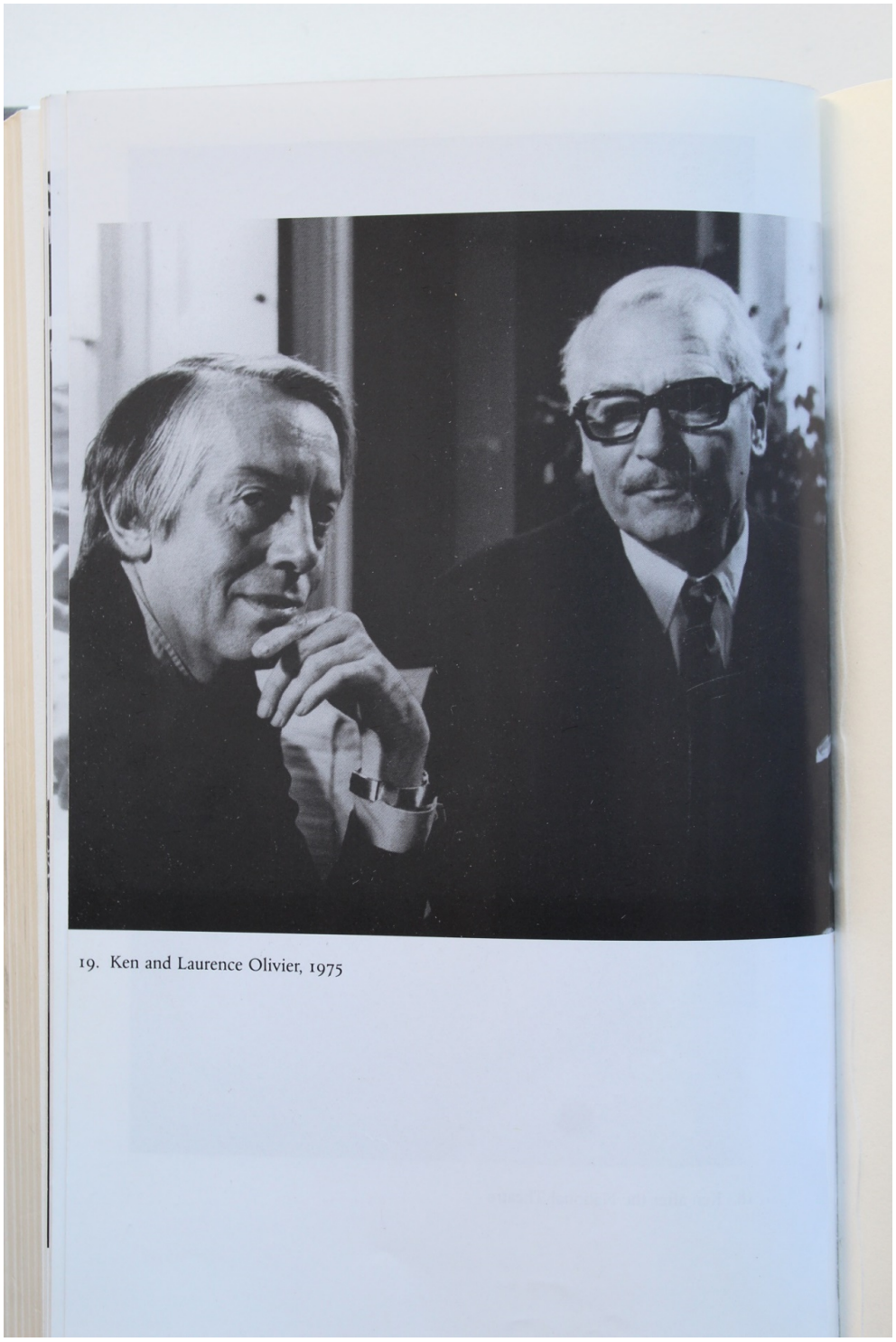
so profoundly impacts understanding of the biography of these objects as individual items, as part of a collection, and as things once worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed.

Chapter 2

Biographical Material Culture

A black and white photograph from 1975 shows Kenneth Tynan sitting next to Laurence Olivier. Tynan is wearing a dark-coloured jacket or coat and a shirt with the collar seemingly turned up against the jacket lapel. The silver hair at his temples contrasts with the rest of his smoothly-combed hair. His long fingers support his chin. Olivier looks on, pensively. Their personal and working relationship was, at times, tense (Tynan, 1988: 219, 221-3; see Shellard, 2003). Their body language in this image hints at a fraught atmosphere, one where two strong-willed men had to battle to get their way in running the National Theatre of the UK.

Is Tynan wearing the black Nutter safari jacket analysed in this chapter? It is impossible to tell from this image, but it is enticing to imagine that he is. Through MCA and with Cannon-Jones' expert tailoring observations, we concluded the coat is bespoke, made to measure for his long body. Darts shaped the back of the coat into the waist and the button holes are hand-stitched. The stylish drape, gun metal buttons, flared collar lapel and patch pockets distinguish the jacket from any other being made by the more traditional establishments on this street, famous for traditional men's tailoring since the early 19th century. Tynan wore this coat regularly, evidenced through the wear and tear of the material and stitching coming apart at some seams and button holes. Pieces of the fine wool cloth have been taken from the inside lining to patch holes at the elbow. Hand-stitching reinforces tears at the edges of the patch pockets preventing them from getting worse. There are cigarette burns and threadbare, unrepaired areas on the surfaces of this coat.



19. Ken and Laurence Olivier, 1975

Figure 2.1: Tynan and Laurence Olivier, 1975 (image © Roxana and Matthew Tynan)

The previous chapter established life-stories of Tynan, Strong and Reed, and began the process of merging MCA of their clothing with the life-writing methods of object-based research. This chapter interrogates fashionable menswear clothing as material object, things that have the potential to tell a biography through the researcher's interpretation, through materiality and through contextualisation (comparisons and contrasts) with other objects. The sections in this chapter analyse the different components of my argument, beginning with an overview of the history of the field of material culture. I position the broader field of material culture in a context that interrogates the significance the practice of MCA and object-based research has had on my understanding and analysis of the biography of Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing. I examine clothing as material culture, surface studies, the everyday object, materiality (wear and tear) and immateriality. Significantly, I interrogate the theory and practice of MCA, confirming it as the seminal method of research for this study, to contextualise and reinforce my argument. I use oral testimony interviews with Strong, Reed, and Tynan's daughter Tracy, and visual and textual analysis of ephemera, such as Strong's scrapbooks. Through this research, I aim to delineate and amplify the biography of the person wearing the clothes, and the biography of the object, arguing that they are inextricably entwined.

I outline the place of MCA within the broader history of material culture studies and argue for its place in the methodologies I apply in my research. Whilst academics including Philip Sykas (Manchester School of Art) and curator Tim Long have explored forensic, scientific approaches to analysing clothing (in Sykas' case for conservation purposes, in Long's case for biographical purposes) my research

focuses on a non-invasive version of MCA that focuses on the surface of the object. As I describe in this chapter, the surface revealed so much of the biography of the garments. My methodology is that of conflating MCA, textual analysis (for example, by examining the registration documents in the V&A and FMB archives) and oral testimony to build those biographies. I worked with a life-writing method, informed assumption, to flesh out these biographies to establish what new information can be gleaned from my proposed framework.

For the purposes of this research, the relationship between a society, and the things made and used within that society, is important to consider. From a semiotic perspective, material culture is concerned with languages, 'in its conviction that artifacts [sic] transmit signals which elucidate mental patterns or structures': in effect, artefacts 'serve as cultural releasers' (Prown, 1982: 6; see also McCracken, 1990: chapter four). The 'language of objects' expresses like the 'language of words', multiple layers of 'abstraction analogous to figures of speech, including metonymy (one thing representing another), synecdoche (a part representing a whole), and simile' (Prown, 2001: 237). The subtle, sometimes ambiguous language of objects (form, structure, materiality, representation; see Grassby, 2005: 597) and structuralist[1] and post-structuralist perspectives can be mined,

[1]Structuralism can be broadly defined as "'a way of looking at things"' (Leach, in Robey, 1973: 37). It has been defined as the study of the systems of 'reciprocal relations' (Robey, 1973: 1) between objects and the society that use them, and the transformations of those relationships occurring in relationship to each other, influenced by the surrounding cultures and contexts (linguistic, social, cultural, political, economic, emotional, societal, amongst others). This is in contrast to investigating objects in isolation. Grounded in anthropological methodologies, structuralism has been applied to many different fields (including semiotics, languages, science, mathematics, physics, and philosophy). Terence Hawkes describes structuralism thus: '...structuralism is fundamentally a way of thinking about the world which is predominantly concerned with the perception and description of structures...' (1991: 17). This perception of structures is important to note: Hawkes continues, 'A wholly objective perception of individual entities is... not possible: any observer is bound to *create* [sic] something of what he observes.... In consequence, the

offering a wealth of material for interpretation.

Using this interdisciplinary methodology, the thesis argues the importance of interpreting the materiality of dress worn by men as a tool with which to broaden biographical insights into their lives, and as a way of expanding methods of life-writing research. It is evident from the garments that the materiality of Reed's clothing is less than that found on Tynan's and Strong's garments. Reed's wardrobe was large, and he often wore many ensemble only a few times – some, never. Some garments still have the price tag on them. The biography of these clothes becomes more intangible (described further in this chapter, and chapters three and four) but as relevant and insightful as any other objects in the lives of these men.

2.1 Material Culture: historical context

The literature surrounding material culture, its history and the use of objects in research on the everyday is well established. To strengthen my argument, I will outline key discussions and contextualise relevant theorists to reinforce my methodological framework. Academics including Schlereth (1985), Prown (1980, 1982, 1993, 2001), Frisby and Featherstone (2000), Hoskins (1998), Kopytoff (1986), Attfield (2000), Campbell (1996), Rochberg-Halton (1984), Dant (1999, 2005) and Tilley et al. (2008) argue for the study of material culture as a portal

true nature of things may be said to lie not in things themselves, but in the relationships which we construct, and then perceive, *between* [sic] them' (1991: 17). 'At its simplest, it [the concept of structuralism] claims that the nature of every element in any given situation has no significance by itself, and in fact is determined by its relationship to all the other elements involved in that situation.... the full significance of any entity or experience cannot be perceived unless and until it is integrated into the *structure* [sic] of which it forms a part' (Hawkes, 1991: 18).

through which groups of people, societies and cultures, the things they make and surround themselves with, can be analysed through philosophical, historical, economic, political, social and cultural perspectives. Thirty years on, Kopytoff's seminal book chapter (in Appadurai, 1986) on the concept of biography of objects is a key body of thought which I analyse to articulate the contribution Reed, Strong and Tynan's wardrobes make to their life-stories.

The foundations of material culture studies were laid in the 1870s. As new modes of production and manufacturing increased in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, anthropologist Franz Boas, sociologist Georg SimmeI and artist and educator Vladimir Tatlin foresaw the insights a better understanding of objects created or used within a culture, could offer their research. Using classification and science-based methodologies, material objects rather than just paper ephemera were utilised as evidence. By the turn of the 20th century, material culture practitioners and theorists were dividing cultural data across three pathways: ideological (written or oral data); sociological (usually field observation); and material (artefacts created by the human hand) (Schlereth, 1985: 22).

Simmel believed in the importance of studying material culture, to broaden an understanding of the modern world. Describing the increasing proliferation, and status, of objects in our lives, he suggested that these insights contributed to an understanding of ourselves (Simmel, 1978 [2004]: 448-452). He explored the contradictory nature of modern culture; between increasing uniformity in order to participate in contemporary life, and the desire to self-present as an individual. He perceived fashion (clothing, but also fashions in design) as the tool through which we adapted to social demands, with which to gauge our engagement with

ourselves and the contemporary world (Simmel, 1978 [2004]: 448; see Frisby and Featherstone, 2000: 189).

During the 1960s, with a renewed interest in folk cultures and post-structuralist work by philosophers including Michel Foucault, material culture studies was established as an independent and respected research field. From the 1970s, some academics suggested objects became more than just solid, stable things – colour, smell, sound and image was also 'material' (O'Connor, in Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 75). Relationships between things became as important as the object itself: anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss asked his fellow theorists to 'abandon the study of entities and consider things only as defined by the relationships that constituted them' (Miller, 2005: 6).

By the early 1980s, Prown had formalised a definition of material culture studies that proved useful to contextualise this research, describing it as 'a branch of cultural history or cultural anthropology.… Material Culture as a study is based upon the obvious fact that the existence of a man-made object is concrete evidence of the presence of a human intelligence operating at the time of fabrication' (1982: 1). Material culture studies then became an interdisciplinary practice, encompassing anthropology, sociology, psychology, design and cultural studies, ethnography and archaeology. Prown described how the study of material culture revealed 'the values, ideas, attitudes and assumptions' of the culture which made things, which reflected the ideological belief systems, social positioning and conscious and unconscious representations of the minds of the creator (producer), the user (consumer), and the wider society (Prown, 2001: 220, 222, 255; see also 1982: 1-2; Kavanagh, 1989). Thomas Schlereth described critical approaches to

material culture, analysing the 'words and things of the past' through their differing components: 'data presence, temporal tenacity, three-dimensionality, wider representativeness, and affective understanding' (1985: 23). "Affects" are properties of materiality that influence our bodies, at the same time being conducted and translated by those bodies (Lorimer, 2008: 552). Expanding on this, affect concerns the relationship our physical body has with the close proximity of the clothing we wear, and how the two interact and impact on each other. This, then, influences how the embodied experience is interpreted (see Deleuze and Guattari, 1980). This reinforces the potential for evidence of biographies of individuals like Tynan, Strong and Reed to be extracted from objects they physically surrounded themselves with, including their clothing.

Studying material objects, which Schlereth has referred to as 'tangible form[s] of a past time persisting in present time' offers broader understandings of a group's dynamics and practices (1985: 24). Schlereth stressed how words do not have meaning; rather, they convey it, whereas physical objects '*embody*' and '*convey*' meaning (1985: 26: author's italics). Historians Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello describe artefacts as: '…complex entities whose nature and life story can only partially be understood and recovered. One of their conceptual challenges – rather than limitations – is the fact that they often raise a series of question marks for researchers about their origin, use, value in the past and in the present' (2015: 9). This material can be analysed and histories described via informed critique and assumption. It is always going to be a history of particular perspectives, given the inculcated predispositions of researchers undertaking the study. For example, studying the physical properties of historical clothing offers insights into what

people in different stratums of society wore. I argue that, alongside traditional life-writing methods such as textual research, researchers can utilise MCA to better understand who wore them, how they wore them and within what context, and the effects physicality (the surface of the body [internal], and the physical environment [external]) might have had on them.

From multiple fields, including sociology, ethnography and anthropology, theorists studied formations of culture amongst groups making up interdependent societies or communities. Patterns of a community's existence could be gleaned from social perspectives (including 'class, race, religion, place of residence, wealth'), and cultural perspectives (including 'art, science, technology, religion' [Prown, 1980: 5]). Kopytoff noted how culture created an homogenous order of things through discrimination and classification (in Appadurai, 1986: 70). In this way, we make sense of our world, and understand the difference between "significant" objects, and those not valued as highly, based on hierarchical privilege. Kopytoff described how 'what one glimpses through the biographies of people and things… is, above all, the social system and the collective understandings on which it rests' (in Appadurai, 1986: 89). In other words, the biographies of people, and the biographies of the objects they use, are equally valid and valuable when analysing them from broad cultural perspectives. This reinforces the premise of my thesis.

The biographies of objects are intimately bound in the surface of the things themselves. But insights into the importance of understanding the materiality of a culture's objects (such as fashion) was absent from the reading I reviewed. This absence is key to this research (see Surface Studies). Peter Stallybrass believed

this lack of investigating the 'matter of matter' is because 'attention to material is precisely what is absent. We are surrounded by an extraordinary abundance of materials, but their value is to be endlessly devalued and replaced' (in Ben-Amos et al., 1999: 31). He argued for analysis of clothing because of the capacity for textiles to be transformed by makers and wearers and, in the guise of dress, its ability to exist and be worn across generations. Given the fact it is never a "neutral" object, the rich symbolism of cloth could act as currency and conduit for histories (Stallybrass, in Ben-Amos et al., 1999: 30-31). As Stallybrass argued for fashion as a conduit for histories, I claim that it is also a bearer of biographies – its own, and the wearer's.

Since the 1980s, theorists including Baudrillard, Daniel Miller, Ian Hodder and Christopher Tilley have become known as post-processualists. After critiquing symbolic and structural Marxist perspectives, they emphasised the subjective and interpretive in their research (O'Connor, in Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 76; Tilley, 1989). Their approach to material culture studies has been reinforced by theorists including sociologist Ian Woodward (2012), Gerritsen and Riello (2015), Gibson (2008) and Stallybrass (1998, 1999; Jones and Stallybrass, 2000). Concepts including agency; the reciprocal nature of agency and artefacts (Knappett, 2005: 11; 26-28); objects as facilitators of social intercourse (Coltman, in Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 24) and historical signifiers and historical events in themselves (Prown, 2001: 255); metaphor and memory (Gibson, 2008; Miller, 2008: 32-45); acknowledgement of the multiplicity of perspectives rather than an essentialist or realist narrative (O'Connor, in Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 78) and objects as "things" (i.e. vehicles) have been introduced to reinforce contemporary material

culture studies. As well, publications like *The Journal of Material Culture* (first published 1996) have produced valuable debate in the field. In particular, Miller's approach to the researcher's interpretation and the object as a site of memory influenced my approach to Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing and life-stories. My aim is to bring original contributions to this discussion.

Contemporary material culture studies enhances understanding of the relationships between individuals and the objects they create, use and appropriate, and the 'social structures and larger systemic dimensions such as inequality and social difference…, human action, emotion and meaning' (Woodward, 2012: 4). Expanding the idea, Gerritsen and Riello stated that burgeoning interest in material culture studies arose out of renewed interests in 'understanding experience, the senses and emotions in history' (2015: 7), through interpersonal relationships and our relational value to the everyday material objects surrounding us.

These objects offer connections, however abstract, to the histories of Tynan, Strong and Reed and the things they wore. While a redefinition of the field was underway (Hodder, in Denzin et al., 1994: 398-400), different methodologies were required to analyse and interpret them (Kavanagh, 1996: 5), including comparison, patterns of similarities and differences, contexts, association, exclusion and inclusion, based on representation and context and the interpretation of the researcher. Tools like imagination and assumption are required to unearth rhythms between an object's biography and the life-story of the subject.

I return to Prown's concept of the object as historical event, as it influences my contextualisation and analysis of the clothing once worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed. Prown describes how

> unlike other historical events, [an object] continues to exist in the present and can be re-experienced and studied as primary and authentic evidence surviving from the past. The past was a reality; it happened in certain ways in certain times and places. But the past cannot be retrieved in its affective totality.… We can determine small truths about what happened in the past, but they coalesce into a large falsehood. History is untrue; it has to be. Recognition of this does not invalidate it but simply underscores the obvious fact that the past is over and done with.… The history that we retrieve is our interpretation of what happened, a myth or fiction that helps us explain how the world in which we live came to be (2001: 255).

Prown is quoted at length, for he amplifies the argument presented in this thesis; namely, I cannot retrieve Tynan's, Strong's or Reed's past wholly through the clothing they wore. But, I can capture elements of material evidence through their clothes and, amalgamating them with object-based research, construct a narrative based on contemporary perspectives and informed assumption. In this way, through studying the material culture of people's lives, in this case dress, we can arrive at a constructed historical narrative that can inform, educate, entertain, and challenge perceived understandings of these men's lives.

Having explored historical developments in material culture studies, it is important to delay MCA of clothing for one more section, so that I can establish philosophical and theoretical contexts to reinforce the ways Tynan, Strong and Reed used their clothing to situate themselves in a time and place. I explore Bourdieu's theory of habitus (1977), a productive model with which to approach Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing as a way of appraising insights gained of their biographies and context.

2.2 Bourdieu and habitus

In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), Bourdieu considered the importance of analysing the relational value between things and our understanding of them. He challenged researchers to look beyond perspectives of activities like language as being "acted out"; rather, he encouraged contextualising our understanding of things and actions through their environment, their functions, and situating their relationships between other objects and those who used them (1977: 25). The things surrounding an activity like language or objects are an intrinsic element to our insights. Our reception of this information is balanced by our perception of the object *and* its surroundings, its position in the hierarchy that it is framed by – its biography. Bourdieu privileged the symbolic capital of objects, the abstract concepts and ideas that we perceive of a thing (1977: 54). He called this habitus, a concept that has influenced philosophical discussion and contextualisation of material culture for four decades. Using Bourdieu's theory is also useful in positioning Goffman's Frame Analysis in this research, to better understand how things *out* of context disrupt our perception of them. I also refer back to the contextualising work of Tynan, Strong and Reed in the space of London, constructing different identities and representations of themselves.

Bourdieu defined "habitus" as 'structures constitutive of a particular type of environment' (such as the constituent material) producing systems of 'dispositions', structured and structuring practices and representations that affect the ways we regulate our understanding of the object (1977: 72). These structures can be perceived from multiple perspectives, providing regulated and orchestrated systems of understanding. It is the combination of things that frames our perception,

comprising: the object itself; the environment and social structure it sits within; its actions; collective histories; objective structures (like language); and social class systems. For Bourdieu, we each have our own personal sense of style, grooming and adornment (I refer back to Reed's careful composition of demeanour), but these are a deviation within a broader arena of social, social-cultural and class structures, pre-determined by what has gone before in terms of fashion histories (1977: 86). In this sense, our clothing, our sense of style, our demeanour, is perceived by others through the regulatory structures of habitus. Habitus is productive to consider in my research as it makes coherent and familiar that which could be undecipherable if it weren't for the fluid structures that underlie its application to the daily understanding of ourselves and our peers. For example, we generate information regarding what we wear in the space we wear it, and what we do in our clothes in a space; I only need to reflect on Reed's CdG kilted ensemble to imagine how he was effectively generating an identity through the presentation of himself in these striking garments. This symbolises things and contextualises actions as individuals within a social group. We move in and out of buildings and through open spaces; we move around objects and each other. Habitus is productive to apply to the analysis of someone's clothing, personal actions and demeanour, for it describes the impact other people's perceptions in the interpretation of someone's life (see Tracy Tynan's perception of her father's sense of dress in chapter three, and media perceptions of Strong's dress from the 1960s onwards). Applying the theory to Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing offers useful insights into how these objects are perceived, highlighted in the mapping of, for example, Reed's movements through London (chapter one) and, given their current position, as garments housed within museum collections. This in-

terpretation develops our understanding of the clothes in context and offers rich insights into their biography. It also influences our perception of them as objects, in a space and time, once owned and adorned by these men.

In the next section, I turn to the value of the commodity of fashion, to analyse agency, choice, and accessibility of objects to establish why I chose to work with clothing with which to enhance the life-stories of three men.

2.3 Clothing and Material Culture

This section investigates the meaning of clothes from material culture and museological perspectives, and the biography of fashion garments as objects. It also poses a theoretical challenge to symbolism and agency, to interrogate these themes in order to understand how they informed my interpretation of Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing. The notion that clothing and its constituent material has social agency has been documented by material culture researchers (Dant, 1999: 85-109, and 2005; Miller, 2008: chapter 3). Sophie Woodward conducted research into components of world dress such as denim material, noting that 'as material culture, clothing is not seen as simply reflecting given aspects of the self but, through its particular material propensities, is co-constitutive of facets such as identity, sexuality and social role' (in Küchler and Miller, 2005: 21). Miller has studied the relationships between societies and objects, accounting for the relationship between cloth and those that constructed it (woven or stitched), proposing that 'a sewn cloth anticipates, acknowledges, constitutes, recalls and memorializes relationships; just as genealogy traces the threads of connection' (in Küch-

ler and Miller, 2005: 15). In this way, these relationships symbolise links between superficial, surface adornment and the depths of human consciousness and memory.

One of the fundamental assertions of contemporary material culture studies, and what makes it relevant to this research is the recognition that 'objects have the ability to signify things – or establish social meanings – on behalf of people…' (Woodward, 2012: 4). The value to the researcher, using material culture analysis of the body's ability to signify, is that objects in culture reveal information about a body; in the case of this research, information about bodies that can maybe no longer describe themselves (Tynan), or no longer remember exact details (Strong and Reed). According to Ian Woodward, objects have the power to become 'actants', with the 'ability to "act" socially' (2012: 15), conveying simultaneously personal and emotional meaning. These personal meanings objects hold for subjects are expanded on by Gerritsen and Riello, who state how 'Material culture… consists not merely of "things", but also of the meanings they hold for people': objects reflect 'affective, social, cultural and economic relations that form our lives' (2015: 2). Woodward states 'people construct a universe of meaning through commodities, they use these objects to make visible and stable cultural categories, to deploy discriminating values and to mark aspects of their self and others' (2012: vii). The value of objects to people's lives, to symbolise meaning and hold memories, including moving in the garments themselves, is part of the reason why I undertook research into Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing.

Reed's memories of a kilted ensemble by Vivienne Westwood vividly shape his perception of it, and my interpretation of how movement and agency became

intertwined. I argue that movement and agency is a fundamental element to understanding our relationships with the objects surrounding us, like dress. Karen Barad argues that performativity moves beyond the human being and is part of the queer 'nature of nature', where agency is physical *movement* in and of itself, resulting from cause and effect (2011: 144-6).

Vivienne Westwood kilt ensemble c.1995-6 (T.53:1-9 – 2011)

This ensemble is made up of nine elements (jacket, kilt, cape, hat, tie, two socks and two garters). The kilt, cape and hat are made with tartan from the Isle of Skye (woven at the Lochcarron Mill). The weight and drape of the tartan, the rows of oval gold buttons, the long cape tied into place would have created a striking effect as he attended private views and opera performances. He wore the complete ensemble formally, with a white shirt. It is interesting to note that Reed remembers seeing the video of the catwalk presentation, rather than viewing it initially in *Uomo Collezioni*. He would have witnessed how the ensemble moved around the model's body as they walked down the catwalk.

Reed was unsure how to drape the cape over his shoulder, made of a lighter-weight tartan than the kilt. He remembers that it draped around his body, moving with him and often slipping off his shoulder. Reed wore classic Westwood "rocking horse" wooden platform shoes, 'just to get that whole teetering Westwood look' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). The effort of wearing these shoes made it difficult to walk and turn corners. Given Reed's height (he is nearly six feet tall), the addition of platformed shoes, a swirling cape and flared kilt would have made for a striking effect on the streets of London. This effect of

Figure 2.2: T.53:1-9-2011 Reed's Westwood kilted ensemble, jacket, c.1995-6 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 18/09/14)

Figure 2.3: T.53:1-9-2011 Reed's Westwood kilted ensemble, kilt, c.1995-6 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 18/09/14)

Figure 2.4: T.53:1-9-2011 Reed's Westwood kilted ensemble, cape, c.1995-6 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 18/09/14)

material moving around his body encapsulates Barad's interpretation of agency as movement, and enhances my interest in the biography of this ensemble.

I now interrogate a counter-argument for agency and objects, to ascertain whether my thinking on the objects I studied changed, particularly in light of Reed's memories of wearing an ensemble like the Westwood kilt. Sociologist Colin Campbell's writing on clothing and meaning in objects cautions against symbolism and agency, describing how 'determining "the meaning" of an action is a far more complex and difficult process than seeking for "the meaning" of an object' (1996: 93). Campbell used a fur coat as an example of how theorists commonly equate the material with wealth and luxury, and how the wearer wished to express this message through wearing. Yet, he highlights how problematic the intended action of wearing a fur coat can be, because the choices made by the wearer and the meaning ascribed to the object by academics do not always coincide (1996: 95). Actions are personal to the individual and it is difficult to ascribe meaning to

their actions, such as what, how, and why they wear it.

Campbell described how meaning is divided between an identifiable use, and one of symbolism. There are different actions involved in the wearing of clothing: the action of purchasing something (an act of choice based on multiple decisions and actions); and the act of choosing something from a wardrobe to wear, given that the wearer already made the decision to purchase these items (Campbell, 1996: 96). He critiques the assumption that, because most people own more than one clothing ensemble at any one time, an action of choice and decision-making is undertaken when dressing each morning, and produces the erroneous justification that clothing is a language whose communication we can understand (Campbell, 1996: 96-7). Campbell urges caution in the assumptions that people have a choice of what they purchase and subsequently wear. Indeed, he emphasised that constraint and the uniform (religious, professional uniform, or "expected" social convention) influence choices in everyday clothing for many people. It was only within the last 100 years that most people had more than a few ensembles of clothing to wear. Choices as individual exercises in their clothing require further analysis; for example, once clothing has been "chosen" (or gifted, or taken), the demarcation between intentionality and choice requires definition. An individual seldom purchases and wears clothes by accident. But a lack of forethought and automatic dressing should be considered ("choosing" to purchase the garment closest to hand at the time of shopping, or donning the nearest thing when dressing). Habit and diminished conscious decision-making play a part in the daily selection of clothing to wear, as witnessed in Reed's purposeful storage on one hanger of a complete ensemble to wear (described in chapter four).

Other theorists believe we have imbued objects with so much content that interpretation is codified and given a set of rules, over-intellectualising the act of looking and understanding, and forcing meaning on things, degrading or eliminating personal response (Thrift, 2008). Writer and philosopher Susan Sontag advises caution in interpretation, to focus on form (close attention to what something is physically made up of, rather than codified and historical constructions), allowing ourselves to *see* the object ourselves in its interpretive potentiality (2009: 14). I agree with Campbell and Sontag in cautious interpretations of objects, hence modulated believing. But I argue that Campbell's stance does not respond to the power of the object to reveal biographical information. Given the clues and information, often very subtle, I uncovered in MCA of Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing, and combining it with object-based research, I corroborated many findings about their lives, some of which were already evidenced, and other insights that weren't so clear. For instance, Tynan and Strong's care for their clothing, repairing them when they were disintegrating. These acts of re-construction add to my understanding of these men's lives. It is intangible information, but signifies that the materiality of the clothes is imbued with agency.

If I apply Campbell's theory to Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing, I can describe what they purchased and chose to wear (choice), what they wore them with (accessorising), and where they wore them (context), but why they chose and wore these things is open to my interpretation, based on personal experiences, background and self-reflection as a researcher to arrive at informed assumption. It required sceptical interpretation of their dressed behaviours, particularly in Tynan's case (I never met him and don't have a personal, independent perspective

on him). Sense of self plays a significant part in the determination of a subject concerning their choices in clothing, and the researcher's analysis and interpretation of their life-stories. The clothes of Tynan, Strong and Reed take on added meanings when they are imbued with significance (such as their memories of wearing an article of clothing to a special occasion). Because I acknowledge the intangible as an important element of understanding (see Deleuze and Guattari, 1980: 301), I take issue with Campbell's approach to agency and actions imbued in objects. I align my thinking with theorists like Küchler and Miller who believe that artefacts like clothes are a form of communication, transmitting a vocabulary of their own, through symbolism, personal and collective memory-making (Stallybrass, 1999; Küchler and Miller, 2005: 15; Ian Woodward, 2012: 3), and Barad's notion that movement itself is agency (2011). I argue that Deleuze and Guattari's notion that translating the *affect* of actions, like wearing clothes, is as much about 'language that is no longer that of words, in a matter that is no longer that of forms' (1980: 301) is essential in understanding how the different elements of my research can be drawn together – through understanding the intangible language as much as the tangible signifier. My research outcomes suggest that, for example, Reed's active acquisition of demeanour, through physical constructions of different identities through clothes, and memories of wearing and the movement of the Westwood kilt (the slipping of the shoulder cape and the "teetering" posture on platform shoes), or the swinging tassels of the Gaultier quilted coat ensemble, are proof that the imbuing of agency in our clothes are a form of pre-determined, and occasionally accidental, communication.

These forms of communication are what makes fashion stored in museums so

appealing to me, and why I argue for a subject's clothing to be part of the material used by biographical researchers when constructing life-stories. Most objects left behind by a society in museum collections reflect only a very small proportion of a particular strata of that culture. The selective process through which objects are chosen for an institutional collection reflects the interests of the curator, archivist, institutional trustees and culture; which objects survive and which don't; and how that can distort research and interpretation of a culture at the time it is undertaken. I would suggest this selection, accession and presentation process is a part of what Tilley has referred to as 'the interpretation of the meaning and significance of material culture [being] a contemporary activity' (1991: 192). Within all these concerns, the issue for researchers is: what is left behind to offer insight into broader social structures? It may seem a generalisation to state that more material artefacts survive from the past that were owned and used by upper and middle classes than lower; of those, fewer still are men's dress. But recent literature (Horsley, 2017) suggests that if further analysis were available, this would be borne out in truth. Historian Professor John Styles describes how labourers had fewer clothes than the wealthy. They were not expensive in comparison and the quality was lower, and they were not deemed as keepsakes or something to be kept for posterity once the practical life of the garment ended (2007: 31). For many reasons, not least the expense and re-use of cloth, the large second-hand clothing market, the use of linen for paper-making, and the lack of available artefacts, there is little historical clothing worn by poor working people available in museum collections. Future detailed analysis of the biography of menswear in museum collections is required to prove this point. In terms of the quality of cloth, application of stitch and how, for what purpose and when

the garments were worn and by whom, the majority of fashion or dress objects in museum collections in the UK do not reflect the breadth of the countries' social or class structure, the stories of the majority of the populations, or broader socio-cultural or economic histories. If artefacts do survive, they are physically removed from original social and cultural context by being accessioned, classified and preserved in a museum, and they can lose their biographies.

Having established relevant philosophical and theoretical frameworks with which to view fashion and clothing as material objects, the next section describes how it would be challenging to analyse Tynan's Nutter jacket without paying attention to a fundamental resource available to researchers: the practice of MCA.

2.4 Tynan and MCA

I have established the importance of the discipline of material culture to this research and explored philosophical notions around material culture and clothing and the importance of surfaces to fashion. This following section analyses and critiques a research method firmly embedded in the field, MCA, used extensively throughout this research to analyse the clothing and ephemera in the collections of Tynan, Strong and Reed. I analyse Prown's foundational work in the practice, the challenges facing practitioners, and analyse Mida and Kim's recent critique of MCA and establishment of a fashion-focused practice. My rationale for presenting practice before theory throughout this thesis is to reinforce the importance of treating the two as equal partners in my proposed research framework.

The front cover of Christopher Breward's publication *The Suit* (2016) features

an image of a tailored jacket made of semi-transparent organza, arranged flat, x-ray-like against a black backdrop. This visual metaphor is valuable in introducing MCA as a practice, working with one of Tynan's jackets that revealed many biographical hints of his life. It also neatly introduces an actual x-ray of Tynan's Nutter safari jacket (T.514-1995; figure 2.8).

Tommy Nutter black wool and mohair "sharkskin" safari jacket (T.514 – 1995)

In the visual documentation available of Tynan, there does not appear to be any imagery of him wearing this jacket from 1970 (I will never definitively know if the jacket in figure 2.1 is the same as this). But he must have worn it regularly in the final decade of his life, as there is much materiality to be found on the garment. The wear and tear on this expertly tailored garment made of good quality cloth strongly suggests the extent of the wear Tynan must have put it through. It can be assumed that he saw this as, if not one of his more popular garments to wear, then certainly a "serviceable" garment worn with many things. The lightweight wool would probably also have been suitable for the warmer Los Angeles climate Tynan lived in from 1976.

Figure 2.5: T.514-1995 Tommy Nutter wool and mohair jacket, 1970 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 15/11/14). Jacket: '…a short coat, worn by both men and women. Apart from the suit, the jacket is one of the most important pieces in a man's wardrobe' (Steele, 2005: 257)

Tynan ordered this coat at a time when Nutter's business had been open little more than a year, when his reputation as a stylish young designer was at its most fashionable. A work ticket sewn into the inside right breast pocket states in blue, hand-written ink the number '423', with Tynan's name, and '12 May 1970' (likely indicating when he received the coat). Journalist Lance Richardson, in his biography *The House of Nutter* states that the business did well in the first year, selling more than 1000 suits at approximately £95 each (approximately £1500 in today's currency) (2018: 116). In comparison with a number of Nutter suits stored in LCF's Archives, the work tickets on the trousers[2] state varying numbers that suggest these were not sequentially ascribed. This requires further investigation and comparison of similar Nutter work tickets of the same period across museum and archive collections.

It is Nutter's provocative design influences that reflect Tynan's own incendiary nature, as a writer, *dramatürg*, and in his often confrontational relationships. Discussing and analysing this garment with Cannon-Jones, we discussed Tynan's use of clothing as a reflection of his personal identity. We concluded that, much like he wrote, and reflected in his provocative choice of plays at the National Theatre, he was wearing Nutter clothing to incite responses from people (favourable and unfavourable).

[2]No work tickets survive on the jackets of this collection (all were cut out) to determine whether the numbers for a suit (jacket, trousers and sometimes waistcoat) are the same.

Figure 2.6: T.514-1995 detail of work ticket, Tommy Nutter wool and mohair jacket, 1970 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 06/07/16)

The jacket is made of a very popular suiting fabric of the mid-1960s, a two-tone sharkskin (or Dormeuil Tonik) wool/mohair (95% wool, 5% mohair). It is a very hard-wearing material with a slight sheen. Discussing this with a tailoring expert like Cannon-Jones, we speculated whether this was part of a suit, for two reasons: this type of material was usually used for suiting material; and the lack of trousers could be explained by these garments wearing faster than jackets, and perhaps they were disposed of. In a safari style, the jacket is influenced by other British menswear designers and tailors, like Nutter's contemporary Tom Gilbey (known

for his modern clean lines [Ross, 2011: 119-122]). A vent is cut long into the back-centre seam, almost to the natural waistline, creating a curved shape to the lower half of the jacket that sits close to the body. It has bellows patch pockets and gun metal buttons, and a wide, flared collar. It was manufactured in the style of an open coat, where the entire body is pieced together, and the final construction involves setting in the shoulders and collar. Darting was stitched by machine, with extra vertical darting in the back panels shaping the coat close to the body above, and at, the waist. A broad yoke across the shoulders is a safari jacket style feature. The under collar was pad stitched by hand and is split style in construction (two parts seamed at the centre back). The button holes are loosely hand-stitched on the pocket flaps and lapel hole, and closely hand-stitched on the cuffs and front panels. This indicates that the Nutter workshop was consciously spending time on areas of the garment that would receive the most wear, such as front buttons, rather than waste time on holes that would receive less wear. The interlinings would likely have been cotton and horsehair, hand-stitched into place. The acetate lining has been sewn in by hand. A Nutter ensemble was expensive in 1970, at around £140 for a suit (Ross, 2011: 133). At a commodity conversion rate, this is nearly £2000 in today's UK Pounds. As there are no accompanying trousers, it can only be presumed (with no access to the Nutter archives which was not possible) that this jacket would have been an expensive item for the time, costing in today's money approximately twelve to fifteen hundred pounds.

V&A curators Susan North and Oriel Cullen requested that the coat be x-rayed as part of a larger project undertaken in preparation for the V&A's *Balenciaga: Shaping Fashion* exhibition (V&A, 27 May 2017-18 February 2018), curated by

Cassie Davies-Strodder (https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/x-raying-balenciaga). The Museum kindly offered me an x-ray image of the coat for research purposes. Although it is clearly outlined at the edges, the brightness of the gun-metal buttons helps situate the structure of the coat. The construction of the four bellows pockets on the front panels is discernible. There is slight shading at the top left-hand corner of the lower right pocket where repairs have taken place. The internal breast pockets are identifiable, as is the yoke at the back shoulder line. The three vertical vents on both back panels of the coat, and the selvage of each dart, is also evident. The overlapping images do not meet perfectly, hindering further analysis of the complete image, particularly the cut sections inside the front right panel that was used to replace material at the right elbow. As described previously, this thesis does not undertake scientific forensic analysis of the garments to enhance life-stories – that is for biographical researchers to investigate further in future research. Nonetheless, it offers rich metaphorical narratives for biographical research, particularly the notion of the x-ray vision of "forensic" science, and being able to see beneath the surface to explore construction and manufacturing details which will expand the potential to tell a broader story of the biography of clothes.

There are worn and damaged areas on this coat, some of which appear to have been repaired by professional repairers, perhaps even by Nutter's workshop. The right bellows patch pocket button hole was heavily worn and, alongside a tear at the top front edge of the pocket, was professionally repaired with hand-stitching. The heavy use of this pocket indicates it was used more than the left pocket, suggesting that Tynan was right-handed. He both wrote and smoked with his right

hand. This was confirmed by Tracy Tynan, who noted he was left-handed as a child, but forced to write with his right hand at school. Given this, it can be deduced that the right-hand side of his clothes would likely be used more than the left. In light of the MCA evidence, this is a safe assumption to make. Given V&A ethics, collections policies and procedures and conservation concerns of the objects in curatorial care I was unable to test the theory of placing something like the mid-brown wallet (T.575:1-1995) in the jacket pocket to ascertain the potential for wear and tear through putting something that is likely to have being placed in, and removed from, the pocket repeatedly. I had limited options but assumption, informed opinion, and measurements of the pocket aperture and length of wallet to imagine Tynan's engagement with the garment. But, I argue that the materiality of the garment, analysed through MCA, tells us something of Tynan's behaviours, nature, use of clothing, and requirements of clothing, adding to the available material about his life-story. If we didn't have pre-existing biographical material, a jacket like this would tell us about a bias towards the right side of his body. The textual evidence proves Tynan smoked, but if we didn't have this material, we would still have the evidence of burn damage on the cloth – which, using assumption, we could say was proof of cigarette smoking. We can use biographical assumption to believe the extreme use of this garment through the worn elbows and damaged pocket suggests it was regularly worn, and probably a favourite item of clothing.

Figure 2.7: T.514 – 1995 Tommy Nutter jacket. Right side of front of object, showing some pocket repair detail, and elbow patches (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 06/07/16)

This image is the closest I got to scientific forensic analysis of the garments. Although it is metaphorically rich as an object for this research, the MCA process I practiced relied on the surface of the cloth to reveal information. This forms the basis for rigorous work into construction and manufacture (the internals of the garment revealed for scrutiny), but for my purposes what I could see on the surface of the cloth revealed the same information as the image. X-ray constructed of four images: Nick Veasey

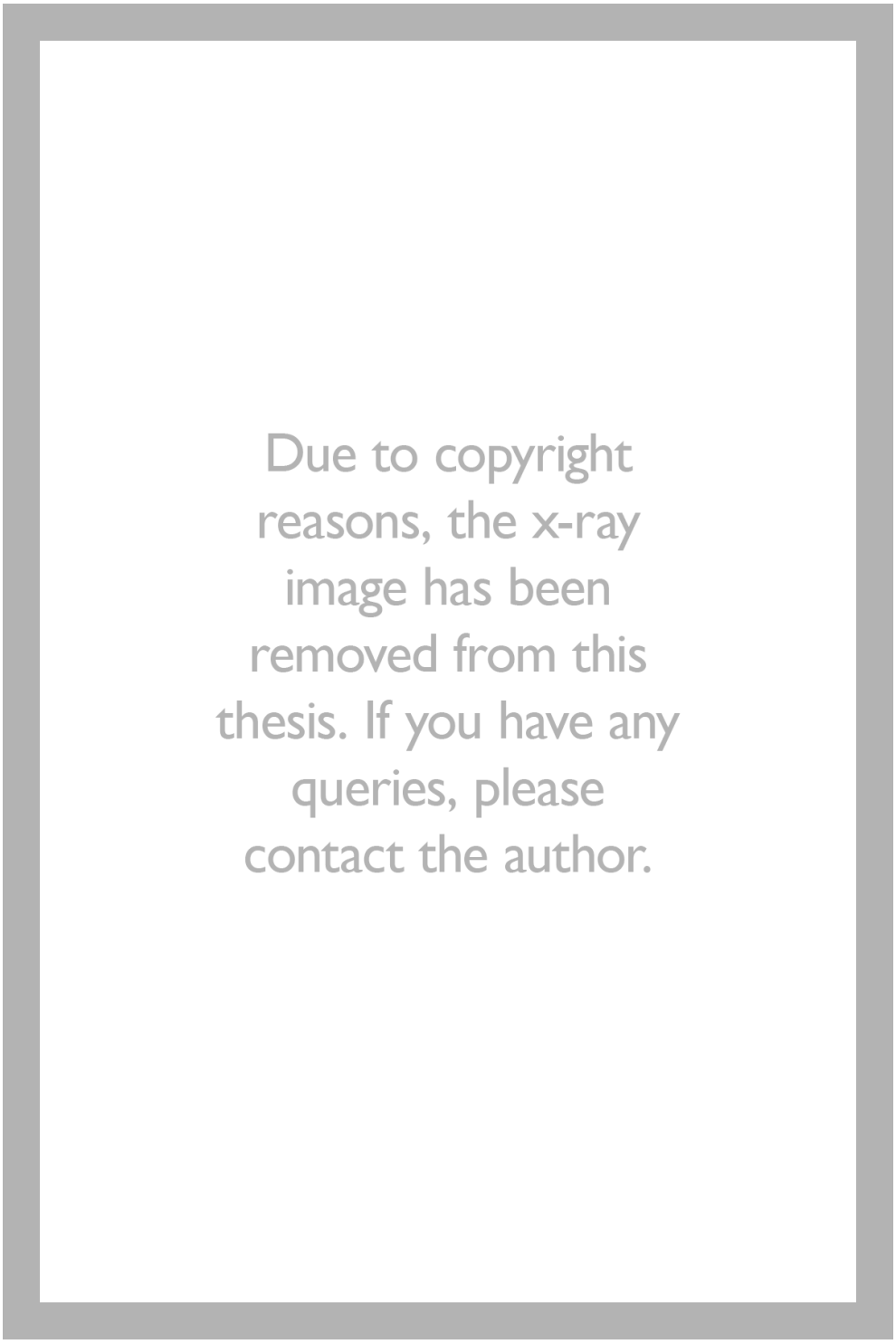


Figure 2.8: T.514 – 1995 Tommy Nutter black wool and mohair "sharkskin" safari jacket

The right side of the coat is damaged the most, consistent with the pocket. At the elbow of the right sleeve are two rectangular repairs, one much wider than the other and both approximately five centimetres in length. These repairs have been made with material cut from the lower front inside lining panel (figure 2.9), which in turn have been replaced with two rectangular pieces of material, one similar to that of the jacket, the other of a satin-weave finish. Going by the different quality of hand-stitching, the two repairs and replacements were made by different people, perhaps on separate occasions. In each area, one of the repairs/replacements is finely set in, and it is very difficult to see any hand-stitching holding the patch in place. The second repair in each area is less evenly cut, set in to the material unevenly (there are bumps in the material), and the hand-stitching is irregular and obvious. Do these repairs suggest anything? One was a professional repair, the other amateur. Can we presume Tynan did not have time to repair clothes at home, or did not have the stitching skills? The remaining damage on the left elbow hints at further assumptions. He and his family became increasingly poor as his ill-health worsened at the end of his life, which may have required him to accept this damage.

To compare on one garment the repairs of one elbow with the unrepaired material on the other is not only useful for comparative analysis of cloth, design and manufacture, but evocative of materiality and the biography of the object itself. The importance of studying the everyday action of bodily movement can inform someone's life-story; where people moved, in what environment, how they moved, what they moved in. So too, analysing closely the repeated patterns of wear the physical body has on clothing is ripe with possibilities for understand-

ing the person and the garment more comprehensively. Did Tynan lean on his right elbow more than his left? Given threadbare areas of material on the left elbow (unrepaired), I suggest he leaned on both elbows fairly equally. As described before, the jacket becomes evidence of his life-story, his way of moving, working (leaning on his elbows enough to wear the cloth away) at a desk to write, and the length of time he must have worn the garment for it to be damaged to the extent that one elbow had to be patched. The consequence of repetitive action around the pocket or chance incident, such as catching and tearing of the material of the right sleeve, as well as the "shaping" and embodiment of the coat on Tynan's body, had to be treated with caution. Many men keep wallets in pockets. This action, compared to a more usual feminine practice of storing it in a bag, suggests the wallet against the body could be perceived as a masculine action, kept, or hidden, inside clothes. I could make assumptions and imagine scenarios regarding the repairs to the damaged Nutter jacket. Perhaps the garment held memories for Tynan, a reminder of his heyday, when he was physically well and could afford expensive clothing (or not, given his life-long financial precariousness). Or was this simply a practice of keeping a well-used, well-worn wallet in his right pocket, that soon needed repairing? The importance of studying the (historically) everyday task of repairing worn clothes is valuable, as Victoria Kelley notes:

> How can we write the material culture history of the afterlife of objects, and specifically, the afterlife implicated in maintenance? Because it is everyday, routine and repetitive, maintenance often lies beneath the historical radar. Like many cyclical practices, it is invisible in narratives that stress exceptional events, change and progress (Kelley, in Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 196).

Figure 2.9: T.514-1995 Tommy Nutter jacket. Internal right panel detail of replaced rectangle patches (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 06/07/16)

It is in the repair of Tynan's Nutter jacket, as much as the remaining, unrepaired and worn away cloth at the left elbow that makes the MCA findings so eloquently biographical. He was repairing this garment so that he could continue wearing it. The maintenance and afterlife of the object, and lack of repair, is part of the jacket's story. When I highlighted the materiality and mending to the Nutter jacket to Tracy, she was surprised. Her perception of her father's use of his clothes took on new meanings for her, as she realised that her father perceived his clothes differently to how she had remembered. These altered perceptions also contribute to the garment's biography.

Having undertaken MCA of Tynan's Nutter jacket, highlighting the value of the research outcomes, I now interrogate more fully the practice and theory of MCA, to further embed it in my framework.

2.5 MCA: theory and practice

I now explore the methodology of MCA, first described by Prown in an article titled 'Mind in Matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method' published in the *Winterthur Portfolio* of 1982 (See appendix 3 for a detailed description of the MCA process). In it, he described a three-step process through which information is gleaned from, 'mute objects' (1982: 7). The three steps – description, deduction, speculation – have provided sociologists, museologists and anthropologists and, more recently, fashion historians and curators (see Mida and Kim, 2015) with a useful methodology to analyse, interpret and hypothesize about objects. MCA offers ways of describing, through an interdisciplinary ap-

proach, including cultural and social histories, sociology, cultural geography, linguistics, and material culture, a method that prioritised the object (Prown, 1982: 7). It is the embedding of MCA of clothing into object-based research that is the key difference in my proposed methodological framework that distinguishes this research from other work in the biography of objects.

The society within which an artefact is created is reflected through different means: in the physical design and creation of the object; constituent materials and their availability (value); distribution and exchange; environment; and cultural locators and indicators embedded in the design (Prown, 1982: 6-7). Prown notes 'belief and behavior [sic] are inextricably intertwined. The material culturalist is, therefore, necessarily interested in the motive forces that condition behavior [sic], specifically the making, the distribution, and the use of artifacts [sic]' (1982: 6-7). The scope of investigations possible with the MCA method is as wide as the types of objects stored in museums under investigation, but the purpose is the same – the search for evidence of underlying cultural values. The process begins with an extended descriptive and deductive analysis of the physical object, such as the work I undertook on the Nutter jacket, not only to describe it as objectively as possible, but prevent a limiting and closing of the researcher's perception or imposition of contemporary biases. It proceeds to the framing of questions, hypotheses and speculation, followed by the application of contemporary perspectives and insights from philosophical, psychological, semiotics, structuralism, deconstruction, and gender studies – whatever the chosen approach of the researcher – to arrive at new insights and understandings (Prown, 2001: 256). Undertaking comparative analysis enables researchers to highlight the sim-

ilarities and differences that make up not only objects but individual lives, and inter-cultural and social relationships. Value, or perceived value, culturally and economically, is considered.

I utilised MCA throughout my research, but in a less formal way than that described by Prown and Mida and Kim. In 2013 I commenced MCA of garments: 17 days at FMB in store 12 (where the 20th century menswear collections are kept), and 18 sessions (mostly half-days) at the Clothworker's Centre, V&A. On one of the FMB days, I worked with Cannon-Jones. I worked with him for three sessions at the V&A, and one of those sessions included also Professors de la Haye and Wilcox. These MCA conversations often morphed from description, deduction and speculation analysis, into discussions around ideas and perceptions surrounding the biography and materiality of the clothes. This reflects the "messiness" that interdisciplinary research has been accused of. Working in this way, with an expert like Cannon-Jones, offered technical insights into the construction of garments and how they had been used, evidenced through the materiality of the garments we analysed, that I would never have achieved if we had followed the formal MCA process. I analysed ways of describing the structure and design of garments in our discussions.

Not all pieces in each of these men's wardrobes are thoroughly analysed as this was beyond the lifetime of the research. After briefly reviewing and photographing every piece from each wardrobe (see appendix 4, sample imagery of pieces in the collections), I selected specific garments or ensembles to conduct detailed MCA on. These pieces had extant textual material available, with the potential to construct a detailed biography. Comparison with other objects is a part of the

MCA process. Comparing garments within one man's wardrobe and across the three collections, offered insightful similarities and differences that I used to highlight how these objects enhanced the narrative of the Tynan, Strong and Reed's lives. For example, MCA findings of Strong's wardrobe reveal personal choices and habits that helped construct his identity. Through comparative analysis of the wardrobe, I deduce he preferred the blouson style when purchasing clothing during the 1970s, '80s, and early '90s, and that he also favoured double-breasted jackets. To compare artefacts within one man's wardrobe and undertake the same exercise across a number of wardrobes offers valuable biographical information, and the opportunity to explore similarities and differences of not only what these men chose to wear but how they wore them, in what combination and where, within the culture they lived.

Since Prown's development and application of MCA, the methodology has been applied to other subjects and research fields beyond art and design history. From the literature review undertaken for this research, MCA has been applied to domestic environments (Money, 2007); the use of objects in capturing memory, especially surrounding death (Layne, 2000; Gibson, 2008); mental health and clothing (Parrott, 2005); children and material objects (Brookshaw, 2009) war and the material surrounding soldiers (Warnier, 2011; Tynan, 2013); and urban physical environments (Wells, 2007). These examples of the application of object MCA highlights the flexibility and relevance of this method in the analysis and understanding of contemporary material and socio-cultural borders. It is, as Prown, Mida and Kim postulate, the active practice of the formulation of explanations, the testing of these ideas, and the reformulating of the explanations to

further investigation, that reinforces historical research into a particular culture. Undertaking MCA of fashion worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed, I was able to compare, analyse and question their motives for wearing the clothes they chose to adorn themselves with, testing my questions and reviewing what new information was gleaned from the process.

Criticisms of MCA have suggested that even with the best assumptions concerning missing data and 'fragmentary evidence' (Schlereth, 1985: 36) researchers will always struggle against limitations of insight or context. Theorists such as historian Brooke Hindle have contended that 'It is the spatial and analytical understanding offered by artifacts [sic], not the things themselves, that is the historian's goal. He has to see through the objects to the historical meaning to which they relate' (1983: 464). This is pertinent to this argument, but it denies the importance of the material object in, and of, itself. Even with careful consideration, robust contextual and critical object analysis, an artefact can never "represent" a culture or human being wholly or completely from a social, economic, political or historical perspective; but it can reveal a significant shift in thinking about that culture, and person. When reviewing Strong's Next blouson (in this chapter), I was struck by the egalitarian use of a well-made but inexpensive item, worn in the garden to work, and worn in Versace's garden for pleasure. One garment offered up many different interpretations of Strong's life-story.

The process of MCA is integral to the relations we have to fashion via our senses. The physical act of handling, touching, smelling and viewing an object requires from researchers different responses: behavioural and psychological senses are utilised and awareness heightened (Adamson, in Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 282).

The physicality of objects, the measuring, touching and personal response to them, the experience of being in the archive, handling and moving around them, seeing its physicality of the object in the space, are essential components of rigorous MCA. Ceramicist and author Edmund De Waal described how we frame objects in a different way through being in their presence and touching them (unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013). Lesley Millar reinforces the idea that we actively mediate our engagement with the world not only through sight, smell, taste and sound, but through touch. She explores the notion that touch is a two-way relationship: in touching cloth, we are also touched *by* cloth; in other words, 'to touch is also to be touched' (Millar, in Adamson and Kelley, 2013: 28). Memory is encoded through touch. We gain knowledge, both physical and mental, through touch: what is rough or smooth, what is healthy or corrupted. Within the action of touch a store of memories are banked for future reference, emotions and sensations as references to help us decode and untangle the information surrounding us.

I believe we can also over-analyse, or assume too much in the MCA process; and, in our desire to achieve an objective, rational, reasoned argument about the biography of the object, we can 'distance ourselves from the experiential dimension' (Adamson, in Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 282). Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing were mostly garments worn every day, and my assumptions about them are perhaps tainted by the very ordinariness of these clothes *because* they were worn every day, even if I was often analysing high-end designer menswear. I felt I could assume more about the clothing analysed because of the self-evident everydayness of them, something that I could relate to. The wear and tear of many of the

garments made them somehow more "accessible". I believe this is because they were signs of a person wearing them, which made them more immediate. But as a researcher, in my practice I was very aware of deconstructing, analysing and challenging my intentions and assumptions in order to reach rigorous descriptions, deductions and speculations; something that was not always possible, especially as I got to know the subjects more as my research progressed.

Since Prown laid out this method of material culture investigation, a number of academics and practitioners have critiqued the MCA process, including Pearce who presented a revised MCA methodology (2003: 125). 30 years on, a model specifically for the analysis of fashion objects was developed by curator and archivist Ingrid Mida and dress historian Alexandra Kim in their book *The Dress Detective* (2015) and, because of its specificity to dress, is worth interrogating. They proposed alternative titles for Prown's MCA steps:

- Observation (replacing Description): capturing the information from the dress artefact
- Reflection (replacing Deduction): considering embodied experience and contextual material
- Interpretation (replacing Speculation): linking the observations and reflections to theory (2015: 26-31).

These titles were suggested by Mida and Kim because, as they noted, some practitioners were confused by Prown's process and titles (2015: 29-31). Although it is valuable to devise an MCA model specifically for fashion, I believe the use of

Reflection and Interpretation as titles are confusing in the order Mida and Kim suggest. For instance, after the initial observation/description stage analysing Tynan's Nutter jacket, in the second stage I believe I *interpreted* my findings, working with my knowledge of menswear and insights into each man's life-story to gather my thoughts about it. I argue that I was *reflecting* on all my MCA in the final, third stage (speculation) to develop my questioning of the garments. I reviewed the potential for future directions and research, posing questions about Tynan's constant use of one garment, the potential repetitive strain on areas of the garment, and how he obviously wanted to be seen in something as stylish as the fashionable Nutter's clothing. I analysed whether my research direction was a productive one, or whether I should abandon it for another route. This is more suggestive of Prown's third "speculative" stage, where rigorous research and theoretical underpinnings are aligned with self-reflection.

In undertaking MCA for this research, it became clear how cyclical and flexible a research method it can be. Each time I analysed a garment worn by Tynan, Strong or Reed, I did not follow strictly the MCA process established by Prown, and adapted by Mida and Kim, step by step. In my practice, I let the three steps intermingle, merge and converge where and when they needed to (see Ulrich et al., 2015: 66, 193-198). In Tynan's case, I had an observer's oral testimony (Tracy Tynan) with which to corroborate my findings. The MCA process was often intermingled with Tracy's memories, and reflections on those who had described his clothing (Dundy and Kathleen Tynan). With Strong, the wealth of visual information greatly enhanced my analysis and interpretation of each garment. I had visual memories of certain images in my mind as I proceeded. For Reed, his

descriptions captured in oral testimony, of his favourite garment, the way a coat moved, how warm an ensemble was, influenced how I approached the MCA of each object. Working with Cannon-Jones offered insights that validated, or excluded, future research trajectories through our conversations as he described not only physical structures of garments, but foundations of menswear fashion and the impact of movement on the surfaces of the clothes.

Conflating the description (observation), deduction (reflection) and speculation (interpretation) stages allowed a more fluid and reflective analysis to emerge. It also reflected the conversations I had about the clothing with my supervisors, which wound around the objects, often in circuitous routes. All of the assumptions developed through the MCA process are corroborated, and sometimes denied, through the proposed research framework undertaken alongside oral testimony and textual analysis. MCA alone cannot answer these questions. It requires the conflation of methods to comprehensively analyse the evidence from a number of approaches to propose more concrete findings. Through analysis of these men's wardrobes, I perceive the process as never-ending, offering ongoing opportunities for insights and gains into the object. It reflects the cyclical nature of reflecting on one's research practice.

It is my assertion that object-based research offers more tangible, physical evidence of Tynan's life, his approach to his personal apparel, and how he wore his clothing. MCA supports a number of assumptions about his character and identity, such as his demeanour and his smoking, and new material findings augment the facts of his weight gain and loss. What cannot always be confirmed is how the materiality of a garment like the Nutter jacket became so worn and damaged,

when and where it was repaired, and for what reason. When clothes lose the sense of pristine finish evident at purchase, choices made by the wearer reveal information about how they wish to appear to others and value they place on the garment. Do you wear a good quality garment, even though it is damaged? What effect or "look" was Tynan aiming for? Given the amount of repair, and remaining unrepaired damage to the object, I speculate that Tynan wore the jacket so much because he adored it and, because there was not enough money to afford another garment of such quality, accepted the look of the repairs and continued wearing it. I believe it was a case of him not being able to let go of a treasured item, and not being able to afford a replacement due to ill-health preventing him from earning. The art of repair, the re-forming of a garment through the alterations made through repair are enticing angles with which to consider Tynan's objects. A deeper analysis of repair is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is possible only to suggest the evocative opportunities for MCA of Tynan's clothing for future biographical research. Analysing and comparing his clothing in the V&A wardrobe, analysing textual and visual material, and considering Tracy's oral history interviews, it is apparent Tynan was a provocative dresser, willing to wear clothes that were damaged in order to not appear necessarily fashionable, but stylish and cool.

MCA of Tynan's Nutter jacket proved the evidence known about him: that he was a right-handed man, that many of his clothes were heavily worn, and that he was a cigarette-smoker. This evidence in the surface of the textiles of the jacket, and my informed assumption, augmented what was known, and took my questions about him in different directions, including why he was repairing the Nutter jacket, and, by implication, his ill-health through the cigarette burns. The fol-

lowing section examines these surfaces further, using MCA as a method to analyse the clothes worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed, and how they have impacted on my questions and interpretation of their lives.

2.6 The surface

The notion of surface offers important frames of reference for this research: primarily, the interaction between the surfaces of clothing and skin. The surface of clothing is the plane upon which texture, pattern and detail is created. These interventions can be subsumed through the surface of cloth: the construction, marks and cutting transgress the uppermost layer; stitching travels through one side to another; cutting slices a single plane in two; colour is absorbed or remains on the surface. They are tangible material but can become intangible and immaterial over time. At any one time, a surface like the velvet cloth of Strong's Just Men suit belongs to and is at a distance from the body it is covering, shaping itself around internal dimensions and yet constantly interacting with external agents.

Just Men deep-brown cotton velvet three-piece suit (BATMC 2006.251.256a; 256b)

A dress-based analysis of visual references revealed Strong was attracted to velvet from the 1960s onwards, commonly as a jacket paired with trousers of plainer fabrics. It is a material made of short pile, light reflecting off it and colours shifting as it moves. Strong stated, when reviewing the scrapbooks, 'Turning over the pages… from those years, with me in late Sixties mod-gear or fancy-dress, I did

seem a bit over the top. But it did all work at the time' (03 October 1993. 2016: 93). In July of 1970, he describes wearing a black velvet frockcoat and trousers 'with a pink-and-white-striped cravat, and sporting a quizzing-glass on a chain' (24 July 1970. 1997: 79). His wardrobes at the V&A and FMB contain velvet coats, including a caramel Regency-style coat (BATMC.2009.135.27). In 1997 Strong wore a black velvet frock coat and 'choirboy frilled shirt' to a party thrown by musician Elton John at the Hammersmith Palais (06 April 1997. Strong, 2016: 217). Paying close attention to men's fashions of the day, in 1976 he notes '[T]he look for men changes: ears show, hair is shorter and straighter, suits are in, so is the well-turned-out look. Velvet is out, velvet bow-ties are out. The look is now precise. I have just bought a new evening suit which is plain, well cut, but with no frills or velvet' (14 September. Strong, 1997: 178). But 20 years later he highlights his love of the 1960s and 'how glamorous I'd been in velvet and ruffles…' (30 June 1999. Strong, 2016: 276). In 2004 he wore a black velvet jacket to a birthday party (19 December 2004. Unpublished diaries, 2004-2015). This constant referencing to velvet through his wardrobe was evident through comparing the two museum wardrobes. Comparison, part of the MCA process, aided my understanding of how he used suits like this to purposefully construct a stylish and flamboyant identity.

Strong donated a Just Men velvet three-piece suit from the 1960s to FMB in 2006. The brand was manufactured in an East London factory called Rightmade. This Shoreditch-based factory specialised in the manufacture of velvet clothing and made garments for other companies including Take 6 and John Stephen. In the description phase, Cannon-Jones noted the velvet nap was cut so that the

Figure 2.10: Just Men brown velvet three-piece suit (accessed FMB, 15/06/16)

nap faced upwards, the opposite direction to the usual downward-facing direction, which gives a darker, richer colour to the cloth. The trousers are particularly interesting under MCA: there is extra material in the seam allowance to enable the alterations that were made to let the waist out. Using visual analysis, Strong was heavier in the late 1960s than he was in the mid- to late-1970s. Visual documentation of him wearing the suit in 1971 or '72 reveals trousers that are close to the thigh, flaring at the ankle. This material and visual evidence corroborates a changing body size. The work ticket notes a style number and garment number, which, if access to manufacturing ledgers could have been possible, would have detailed who had made it, and when. This suit is a good example of the burgeoning high street menswear clothing trade in the UK in the 1960s.

Figure 2.11: Strong wearing a Just Men brown velvet three-piece suit, with Julia Trevelyan Oman. Their 'First public appearance', at the Crush Bar, Covent Garden (scrapbook 'September 1971-December 1972'. Accessed 19/11/15)

It is important to acknowledge the importance surface plays in analysing clothing Tynan, Strong and Reed wore, because more of the biographies of these objects is revealed through the materiality of textiles and the specific nature of dress changing as it is worn on a body. Within the past decade, surface studies has emerged as a field of material culture with particular implications for fashion studies (see van de Wetering in Dudley, 2012a; Adamson and Kelley, 2013; Amato, 2013; Bruno, 2014). Surface studies critically interrogates the complex interactions between, and upon, surfaces. Surfaces surround us; they are the boundaries between us and our environment either manufactured (physically manifested), invented (imaginary, ephemeral) or artificial (temporary, unnatural). "Surface" is used to describe skin, membranes, layers, cover, sheet, laminations, and interfaces between objects. Historian Joseph Amato notes:

> Surfaces and the things they stand for are… fashioned into images and ideas.… Once formed into images and representations, surfaces become keys and corridors of perception, signalling immediate reactions, eliciting habitual responses, exciting associations, and awakening and establishing memory. All this explains, so to speak, why in *these* clothes in *that* room I become *that* person (2013: 22).

Amato's metaphor of clothing and surfaces highlights how we weave our lives through and around the surfaces of the clothes we wear. We establish context, interact with and are impacted upon by surfaces we surround ourselves with (Amato, 2013: 12). Surfaces 'evoke images, hold memories, and occasion stories' (Amato, 2013: 1). Surface is analogous to both memory and learning; as it is marked by indentations left behind on touching pliable cloth or in oily fingerprints left on metal. In this way surfaces literally contain imprints of the past and are able to trigger emotions and associations. And yet we won't secure a complete histor-

ical answer from most surfaces; rather, we assume, negotiate, interpret, compare and contrast, include or exclude, and enter into a symbolic dialogue with surfaces to untangle their biography. Throughout this research, I have analysed ways of interpreting these subjects' clothes interrogating surfaces as a way to understand how the clothes were used, and what I could assume from the information I gleaned through things like materiality and repair of the cloth.

Engaging with criticisms of surface studies, Küchler and Miller describe the problem of 'depth ontology'; the 'idea of being, on which the real person, myself, is somehow deep inside me, while my surface is literally superficial, a slight, transient aspect that is shallow, more contrived, somehow less real and certainly less important' (in Küchler and Miller, 2005: 3). Miller describes it thus: 'This denigration of surfaces has been part of the denigration of clothing and, by extension, of those said to be particularly interested in clothing, often seen as women, or blacks or any other group that thereby come to be regarded as more superficial and less deep' (in Küchler and Miller, 2005: 3). Angela McRobbie expands on the importance of the everyday by suggesting that 'the superficial does not necessarily represent a decline into meaninglessness or valuelessness in culture. Analysis of the so-called trivial should not remain at the level of the semiotic reading' (McRobbie, 1994: 4). She urged researchers to analyse 'the sociological play between images and between different cultural forms and institutions' (1994: 4), including objects like clothing. Sophie Woodward also argues that interpreting "surface" appearances is invaluable in the broader study of fashion and the construction of identity (in Küchler and Miller, 2005: 21-2). As described previously, Strong's Just Men velvet suit was physically shaped by his body, through weight

increase and decrease, and through alteration. These details, revealed through the surfaces of the cloth, aided my construction of his life, as a wearer of clothing, as his body changed shape, and as someone who wished to be perceived as someone wearing fashionable clothing.

Amato reinforces this perception of layered surfaces when he states:

> By touching surfaces – however humble and close by – by taking hold of them, twisting, and breaking into them, we identify things, compose worlds, and make a mind, which, over the course of ages, reaches as matter of habit into existence and grasps its things and symbols as our own (2013: 38).

Miller stated that the Western academic community was 'prepared now to see clothes themselves as having agency, as part of what constitutes and forms lives, cosmologies, reasons, causes and effects' (2005: 2), especially given the increasing importance of fashion research into non-Western cultures. For example, Miller's field work in the Trinidadian culture, where regard for the surface as the space where the real person is to be found is privileged, and 'that which is deep inside them is seen as false, being hidden from public scrutiny' (in Küchler and Miller, 2005: 3).

Surfaces represent, and present, boundaries (see Lehmann, in Adamson and Kelley, 2013: 147; Amato, 2013; Bruno, 2014), between 'mind and body, home and work, street and landscape; they offer exterior signs and identities of self and other; they become signs and symbols for what we are and what is around us' (Amato, 2013: 11-12). They divide the internal body and external presence and construct a border for an interaction between the two environments. But Kelley reminds us to 'consider what happens to a surface when it is transgressed, or

when the surface/depth binary does not hold…' (in Adamson and Kelley, 2013: 13-14). This transgression of surface influenced my interrogation of the materiality of Tynan's, Strong's and Reed's clothing. I undertook MCA on what was often damaged and stained clothing. I questioned my analysis (read: assumptions) of why damage occurred each time I noticed tears, stains, fading, missing buttons and frayed cuffs.

The complex nature of the interaction between human skin and material artefacts such as clothing is reflected in the marks left behind: the materiality of clothing, both inside and outside the garment. The surface of cloth is irrevocably altered and literally "marked" by the body and the physical environment we negotiate. Cloth stretches across bodies as they change in size and shape, scrapes against sharp objects, disintegrates over time and fades in light. As the surface can mark time (wear and tear, discolouration), so we can understand these marks as the patina of age (see Kelley, in Adamson and Kelley, 2013: 16). Kelley describes the layers of surface we present to the world: most of our skin surface is covered by clothing, and this is the surface we present every day to the world (in Adamson and Kelley, 2013: 18). She describes the special nature of textiles and clothing as surface: clothes 'both *are* surface and *have* surface' (2013: 18). The link between the surface of skin and cloth blend and merge as clothes skim, or tightly capture, the contours of the body, like Strong's velvet trousers. I merged surface studies with MCA as part of my proposed research framework of a subject's clothing, because the surface captures the record of the absent body, and through MCA of those surfaces I was able to re-capture information that might otherwise have gone unnoticed.

Talking about the body as a site of understanding is a well-established practice since philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty's work, who asserted that 'far from being merely an instrument or object in the world our bodies are what give us our expression in the world, the visible form of our intentions' (1964: 5). This reinforces the notion of the powerful dynamic between the body and the objects we surround ourselves with: in this case, the bodies of Tynan, Strong and Reed are bodies of meaning according to Merleau-Ponty, whose traces can be read in the clothes they wore and left behind. My research is embedded in this approach to the body as part of the narrative of meaning that develops over time, as the clothes of these men were purchased, worn and then donated to museums.

As described in this section, surfaces of clothes are impacted upon by wearing, and external interactions between other everyday surfaces as we move through different environments. Understanding theory around surfaces aided my interpretation of Strong's velvet suit. Reviewing my MCA of the trousers, and comparing them with the visual analysis, provided me with evidence to assume that the garment had been altered for a changing body shape. This detail illuminates how using my research framework revealed how Strong wore his clothes hard, having them altered to fit him over periods of time. I assumed that his clothes reflected his approach to life: hard-working, even when attending social events. The following sections define notions of the everyday, and how much everyday clothes embody the wear and tear and moulding of cloth against body.

2.7 The Everyday

This section considers notions of everyday clothing, and how the study of the surfaces of Strong's Next blouson reveals insights into biographies of clothes and the wearer. I interrogate the proximity of clothing to the physical body and our awareness of what surrounds us. As my research progressed I emphasised analysis of the everyday items worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed, as well as the quotidian items pieces like wallets, ties and socks. Through the practice of MCA, I was able to uncover original information and new ideas and questions to consider as I researched their life-stories. Examining material culture and the everyday (McRobbie, 1994; Inglis, 2005; Turkle, 2007; Buckley et al., 2012; Charpy, 2015; Wilson, 2013) was also productive, in order to expand the themes of the proximity, literally and physically, of clothing to our bodies. It is important to emphasise for this research the importance studying the everyday objects these men surrounded themselves with, such as clothing, and how it enriched my understanding of their life-stories.

Applying the MCA process to a Next blouson Strong regularly wore is an example of an everyday item that reflects not only the burgeoning high street fashion culture in the UK from the mid-20th century onwards, but his biography, and the biography of the object itself.

Next Blouson (BATMC 2013.320.34)

Next menswear was launched in August 1984 and offered a very different way of shopping (*Men's Wear*, 21/07/83: 3). Next was owned by businessman and

restauranteur Terence Conran, who recruited designer George Davies in the early 1980s to launch a new high street venture. Next store environments were modern, open plan, fresh in appearance, and stocked with affordable, good quality, functional formal and casual wear for men and women. Catalogues were produced from 1988, presenting stylish, fashionable looks on high-earning models of the time. The design teams produced well-made menswear and from the outset it was very successful, with rapid expansion (*Men's Wear*: 24/01/85: 1; 21/03/85: 3). The brand epitomised British High Street fashion of the 1980s, offering "lifestyle" options for men and women. This casual blouson in duck egg blue was given to the FMB in 2013, part of the third tranche of Strong's donations. He remembers it came from one of the first menswear collections produced by Next. The high street brands in the UK provided, and continue to provide, Strong with many of his clothing purchases; this is corroborated by the volume of high street garments in the FMB collection.

The blouson has a youthful, sporting cut, in keeping with the Next men's collections of the time (an early collection from 1985 is described as having large sections of 'active sportswear: tennis clothes, swimwear, joggers, anoraks, polo shirts, T-shirts and all the necessary accessories' [*Men's Wear*, 24/01/85: 1]). The work ticket describes the shell and lining as cotton. The sleeve lining is synthetic. Stitched to the back lining is a large square label, made of a white background with black edging, on which is printed in joined lower case letters an 'x' and 't', and a small 'm' in a circle at top right (a branding exercise and perhaps an indicator of size[3]). This label, for its design, its cost of extra material and time printing

[3]Corroborating this fact is difficult. Next plc. did not respond to my email enquiry and the first Next Catalogue was published in 1988.

and applying in manufacture, for the fact that very few people would have seen it when worn, appears a modern take on the traditional brand label. The contemporary "record label" feel to this graphic device, and the Mod-styling of the blouson marks this out as a particularly interesting design. Strong purchased this garment when he still had a London flat on Morpeth Terrace. He was close to a number of shopping streets on which to purchase clothing, particularly high street brands. He recalls 'I do remember the excitement of Next opening in Victoria Street round the corner in the early eighties. It had such panache and style then and from it came that jacket which has NEXT in enormous letters inside on the back. I wore that for years' (email communication with Strong, 27 January 2018). It is worth noting he would have been around 50 years of age when he purchased this garment, suggesting a man with a keen awareness of contemporary fashion trends (see discussion in chapter one on the "new man"). He states that he thought this blouson had style (oral testimony with the author, 25/09/15). Demonstrated by the extensive materiality of the fabric at the collar and lining, he wore it regularly. At the elbow of the left sleeve is a small L-shaped tear that has been repaired with hand-stitches, the outer material neatly folded under and stitched to the lining.

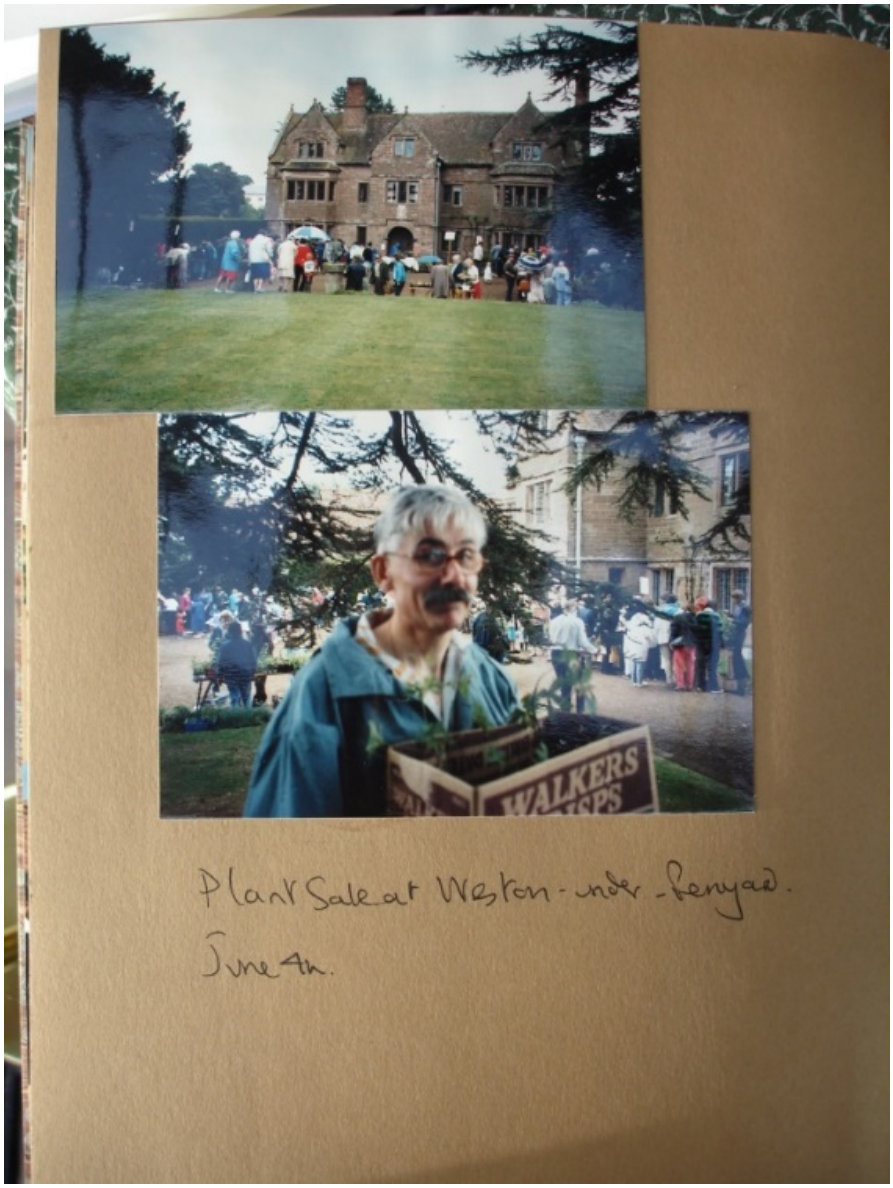


Figure 2.12: 'Plant sale at Weston-under-Penyard. June 4th.' Strong wearing the Next blouson in 1988. From Strong's scrapbook 'XXXI, 1988, Late April-early July' (accessed 16/12/15)

Figure 2.13: Strong wearing the Next blouson on a visit to Gianni Versace's house, Lake Como, 1987. From Strong's scrapbook 'XXVI. 1987. April-July' (accessed 16/12/15)

Figure 2.14: BATMC 2013.320.34 Next duck egg blue blouson, 1984-5 (accessed FMB, 10/07/15)

Blouson: 'Jacket with a bloused effect at a normal or low waistline, either gathered into knitted waistband or pulled in by drawstring' (Calasibetta, 1988: 303)

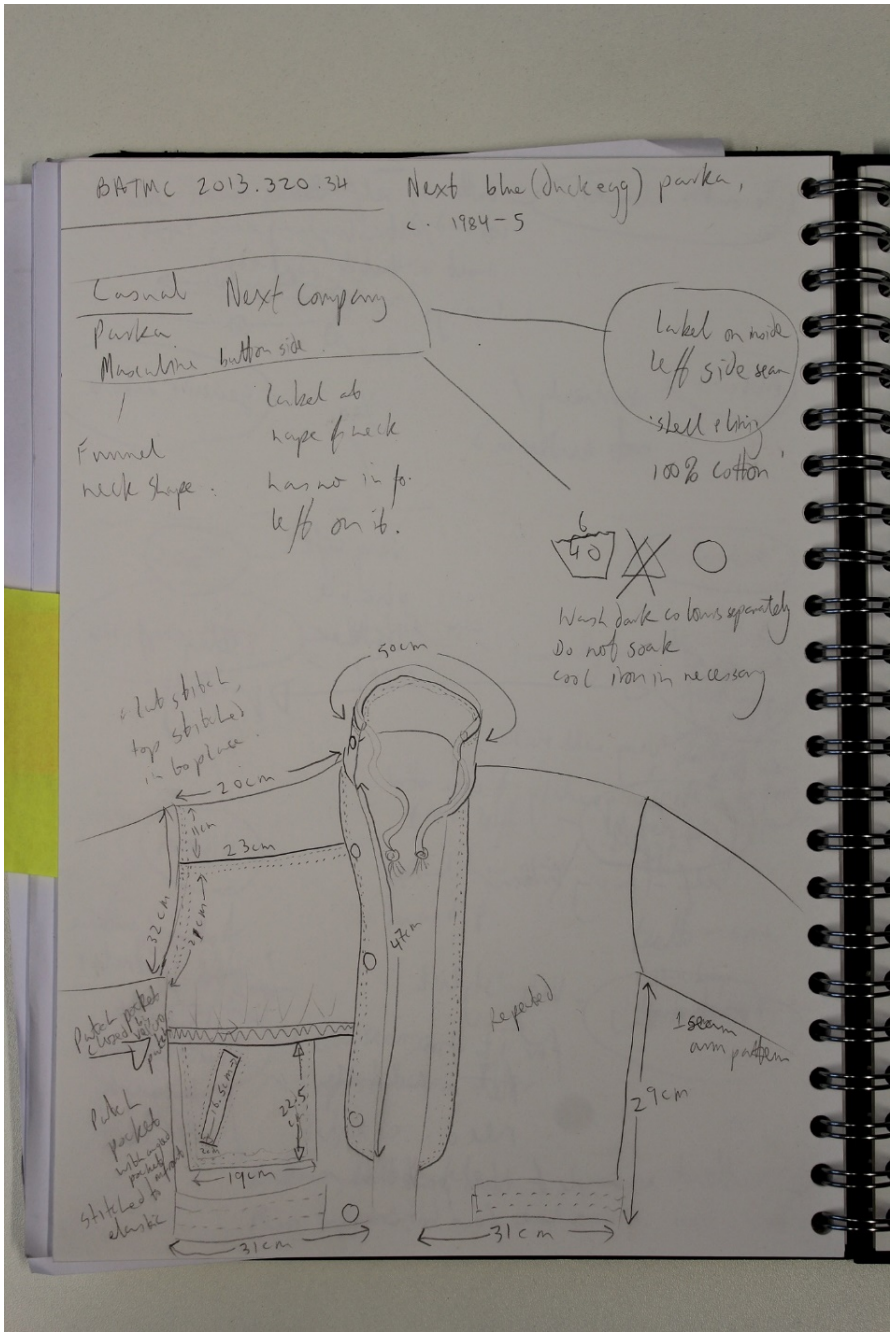


Figure 2.15: Author's notebook. Next Blouson. MCA analysis, FMB

Figure 2.16: BATMC 2013.320.34 Next blouson. Note the black and white graphic printed on the back lining of the garment (accessed FMB, 16/05/16)

The blouson has five buttons fastening the front of the garment, with a drawstring funnel collar and long sleeves. On both front panels a patch pocket with angled welt opening forms the front panel of another patch pocket with top entry at the breast; the entry to this pocket is hidden by an over panel that is gathered at the bottom edge. In the front left breast pocket hides a tangle of fine green gardening wire. The curatorial team at FMB, weighing up collection care, kept the wire in a melinex envelope in the pocket in an effort to retain as much original context and information about the garment as possible. The wire is tangible evidence of place and occupation (the garden); visual analysis of the scrapbook photographs provides evidence of time, in other places (on holiday, at fairs, in other gardens).

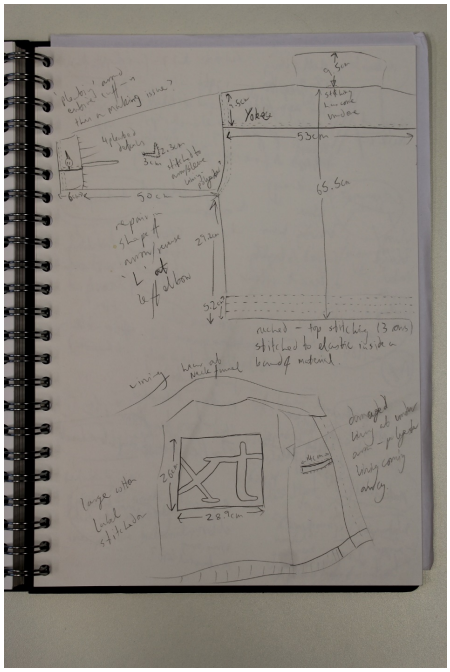


Figure 2.17: Author's notebook. Next Blouson. MCA analysis, FMB

Figure 2.18: BATMC 2013.320.34 Next blouson. Green gardening wire found in left pocket (accessed FMB, 16/05/16)

Figure 2.19: BATMC 2013.320.34 MCA analysis (accessed FMB, 09/06/17)

Figure 2.20: BATMC 2013.320.34 MCA analysis (accessed FMB, 09/06/17). Note the repaired L-shaped tear on the right elbow, and the unravelling and fraying edges of the sleeve lining at the armhole. Both are indicators of use, and both useful examples of the breach of the surface of the cloth (as described in the surface studies section)

This was one of Strong's everyday garments. He wore it in the garden (evidenced by the stains on the cloth, gardening wire in the pocket, and scrapbook photographs), on the guided tours of Europe's gardens that he led, and to visit Gianni Versace at the Villa Fontanelle overlooking Lake Como. He paired it with white shoes and pale trousers (figure 5.1). The choice to wear a high street brand blouson, designed for stylish, everyday wear, on a visit to one of Italy's most popular fashion designer's house for a weekend visit, shows great confidence in dressing. Charting the visual material in the scrapbooks, he wore a similar outfit style with casual shoes such as slip-on loafers or trainers on day trips around the British countryside. Given this information, and the advanced material degradation, it is evident he wore this for nearly 20 years before it was stored in the attic. And yet Strong believed he never wore anything for more than a decade (oral testimony with the author, 25/09/15). As is evident throughout this thesis, memories of one's wardrobe, and the evidence left behind, in this case visual and material (materiality), reveal a different story.

Philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre proposed that the concept of everydayness could also reveal the extraordinary in the ordinary: 'the everyday is the most universal and the most unique condition, the most social and the most individuated, the most obvious and the most hidden' (Lefebvre, 1987: 9). By de-familiarising oneself with the everyday, researchers can begin to rearticulate perceptions of it. In this way, by re-contextualising Strong's Next Blouson, it becomes important in enlarging insights into his biography. The garment obscured a small tangle of gardening wire, and yet it protected it, giving it an afterlife stored in a museum collection. It is on these metaphorical borders of mem-

ory, object and artefact and the proximity to the body, where "truth", revelation and concealment lie. I analysed the clothing, accessories and associated ephemera of these men to ascertain how much more of an insight into their lives I could uncover through the biography of the garments they wore.

Sociologist David Inglis explored how we "make" culture within groups of people. Within these cultures of learned and codified behaviour we live in, meaning is created by us. Even seemingly banal, everyday objects become meaningful because we imbue it with significance. As Inglis suggested, the importance of thinking about the everyday is encouraged 'because everyday life contains within it more significance than we might think' (2005: 3). While sociologist Anthony Giddens suggested we are often unable to provide reasons why we do what we do on a daily basis because 'they're there and we do them' (in Tomlinson, 1991: 174), MCA can inform an understanding of the importance of the everyday garment and speculate the "why" that Giddens states was excluded from cultural studies. Describing the normality and social activity of our daily lives is not something we are usually required to voice, including describing our communications, social interaction, emotions, and dressing ourselves.

The everyday object, something we utilise regularly for tasks such as eating, communicating, dressing, reflects, as Manuel Charpy notes:

> the gestures, the sensibilities, the relationships with the self and with others – in other words, the anthropological structures of society. From this point of view, objects are not mere witnesses of social and anthropological phenomena or arbitrary social indicators, they are instruments and tools through which individuals and groups define themselves on a daily basis (in Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 199).

It is the "everydayness" of objects like clothes and their position against the body

that makes them so relevant to this research. Theorist Elizabeth Wilson reinforces an obvious but important statement to make – that clothes are what we wear every day in some form or another (2013: 95). Clothing is as proximate to the body as is possible. It skims and cinches our bodies every day, and in so doing is physically imbued with our DNA. All our senses are engaged in the act of making memory around our clothing (see Kwan, PhD, 2017), including our memories of when, where and how we wore it, and with whom. It is productive to approach this from a psychoanalytical perspective, to embed the importance of the relationship between the body and clothing. Psychoanalyst and writer Adam Phillips has referred to the acute sensitivity many people have to the proximity of things to their bodies. Phillips suggests: '(o)bviously, each individual person brings their own history of what clothes mean to them. That can't be accounted for. But, what we do know are things like, we're dressed before we dress. So, being dressed is a very fundamental experience, it links to the earliest experiences' (in conversation with the author, 18/11/10). I argue that the patterns that emerge in someone's selection and wearing of clothes – what they chose to wear, how they wore it – augments our understanding of the life-story of that person.

From birth, we are surrounded by objects, and they influence our lives. They affect how we react and behave around things throughout our lives (see Turkle 2007: 3-10). As Kopytoff describes, studying someone's life and, at the same time, exploring the objects they have been surrounded by (chosen or not), and how they have moved in and out of memory reveals many new avenues for exploration (in Appadurai, 1986: 67; see also Miller, 2005: 7). As Strong postulates in his unpublished diaries, 'Any habitation, however tiny, is a repository of memory, of

one's life expressed through an accumulations of things…' (September 2005. Strong, unpublished diaries, 2004-2015). He highlights the complicated relational values we imbue objects with; as everyday things, they are taken for granted, but soon they accumulate, and we are left with narratives of life-stories threading through the warp and weft of the material we surround ourselves with. My research does not interrogate objects as commodity; rather, I use clothes and the narratives they reveal through MCA and the proposed research framework, as a portal through which to view someone's biography.

Tilley notes that 'humans leave behind a vast array of artefacts which, quite literally, objectify their past presence' (2008: 60). This social evidence 'is the product of a particular cultural environment. We are pervaded by the beliefs of our own social groups – nation, locality, class, religion, politics, occupation, gender, age, race, ethnicity – beliefs in the form of assumptions we make unconsciously' (Prown, 1982: 4). In other words, our perception of an object and our history entwined in that thing is based on our cultural knowledge and background. As Prown notes, through material objects we are able to 'interpret the culture that produced them in subjective, affective ways unachievable through written records alone' (2001: 229). This is particularly acute for items which, in the fact of their quotidian nature, do not attract cultural critique, such as many of Strong's garments like socks and t-shirts, in the FMB. The clothes worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed hold complex histories, as they are physically impacted by wear and tear, decay and destruction as the wearers moved through spaces and across time. In this way, I argue, the everyday, as analysed and interpreted through MCA of these men's clothing, provides evidence with which biographical researchers

can corroborate a subject's life-story. If Strong's 20 bin bags of clothing had not ended up at the FMB, much supporting evidence of his life-story would have been lost.

The nomadic, diasporic nature of material culture, specifically clothing, is of particular importance to this research. One need only analyse Tynan's Nutter jacket, its journey from London, 1970, to Los Angeles, and back to London, and, via the British Library to the V&A Clothworker's Centre. As a garment like this shifts and moves through homes, cities and across borders, it takes on different stories as each narrative adds to its biography. Paul Basu suggested that all objects are, in a sense, migrant things – constituent materials travel great distances, objects travel with humans, and are handled by other people and placed in different contexts (unpublished conference paper, *The Stuff of Memory*: 2015). Gerritsen and Riello note how no object is stable: 'they take meaning in space and time, they change as human thoughts about them change, and it is in the human-object relationship that history is written' (2015: 7). Sociologist Margaret Gibson describes the nature of nomadic objects like clothing, and particularly after death when they are transferred to other places (2008: 12-13). Where do objects belong after one biography ends? Dispossession (or transition) of objects need not be a negative state: renewed possession by a new owner extends the history. Museums aim to prevent destruction and disintegration, and yet it is a natural part of life (Trustram, 2014: 76). Like Tynan's jacket, the biography of these objects is enriched by the journey from maker, to wearer, to museum.

The damage and repair of Strong's blouson, collar stains and tangled wire suggest use. The garment was nomadic, in that it was worn in his garden, travelled

to Italy to be worn in Versace's garden, and in between was captured in photos of him buying plants for his garden. It is an everyday garment that revealed interesting biographical information, when I merged my MCA findings with textual analysis. This damage and disrepair leads the discussion onwards, to explore theories underpinning the impact worn surfaces have on our clothing and the biography of these objects. The stories clothing can tell about lives is the focus of the following analysis of the materiality of objects, in relation to an understanding of how clothing impacts on, and is impacted by, the body.

2.8 Materiality and the everyday

The section interrogates materiality. Materiality can be defined as the constituent parts, the stuff and fabric making up an object, and its state of repair; materiality in this sense then is evidence of the relationship between the wearer and the worn. As I have shown in my examination of surface studies and the everyday, the coexisting nature of textures, forms, skin, surfaces and other surrounding objects influence our interpretation of them. Artist Janis Jefferies uses the notion of 'laboured cloth' (in Livingstone and Ploof, 2007) to describe cloth's materiality. It is an evocative one with which to encounter our feelings towards clothes: from the production, to everyday use, perhaps altered, and finally discarded. I then consider death and the object, and our changing relationships to clothes once the wearer has died. As described in the introduction, I refer to clothing as those things that are part of the dressed appearance. A brown leather wallet that Tynan used at the end of his life (given the evidence contained within it) offered rich seams of information to continue exploring his biographical narratives, and

aided my contextualisation of elements of his life, including his physical health.

Brown leather wallet, Prince Gardner, c.1970 (T.575-1995)

A leather wallet, when worn regularly against a body as part of a dressed ensemble, takes on the bodily contours as heat, repetitious movement and use moulds the object to the curves. It is an object that manifests something of the wearer's physical form. As part of Tynan's wardrobe, the V&A accepted a small wallet made by the American company Prince Gardner, makers of leather accessories since the 1940s. As described previously, within is stored a British driver's licence, two early cash cards from National Westminster Bank (from a branch on Carlos Place, near Grosvenor Square, W1), and a New Yorker Magazine American Health Insurance Identification card. A small identification card with 'Prince Gardner' noted, in blue pen, Tynan's name, his address (rented accommodation at '9454 Lloydcrest Drive, Beverly Hills, Cal. 90210') and phone number ('273/0661'). Most significantly, a Californian driver's licence with its own accession number (T.575:1-1995) is contained in the wallet, detailing information at the time of its creation in 1978 when Tynan was 51 years old:

- Name: Kenneth Peacock Tynan
- Address: 8341 Sunset Boulevard #2, Los Angeles (different to that noted on the card. Tynan moved his family to different rental accommodation in Los Angeles.)
- Sex: male

- Hair colour: brown
- Eye colour: blue
- Height: 6-2 (6 feet, 2 inches)
- Weight: 142 (pounds)
- Date of birth: 4-2-27 (02 April 1927)
- Issued on 8-17-78 (17 August 1978).

The information about weight reveals useful information about Tynan's final years of life. [4] He was a tall man, very slender in his youth. He doesn't appear to have ever been overweight, gaining only a slight middle-age spread around his 40s. Notably in Kathleen's biography of him, she describes his thinness in the final stages of his illness. Tynan's weight was down to 142 pounds (about 64 kgs, or 10 stone 2 pounds). On the National Health Service body mass indicator, this comes in at 18.3 (underweight). In the 1970's, and it is still the case, Californian driver's licenses were issued by the Department of Motor Vehicles. The information about eye and hair colour and weight was provided by the applicant – they were not checked at the Department at the time of application. So, there is a hint of doubt about the "truth" of his weight. Given Tynan was regularly attending doctors' offices and even hospitalised by this stage in his life, we can assume that he was *au fait* with his own body weight. Kathleen notes that he weighed 146 pounds around this time (Tynan, 1988: 396). The photo corroborates the evi-

[4] Wild refers to Cecil Beaton's body measurements, including his height, taken from a tailor's archives, Anderson and Sheppard (1934) (2016: 58-9).

dence: it is of a gaunt face. It would have been taken at the time of application at the Department office.

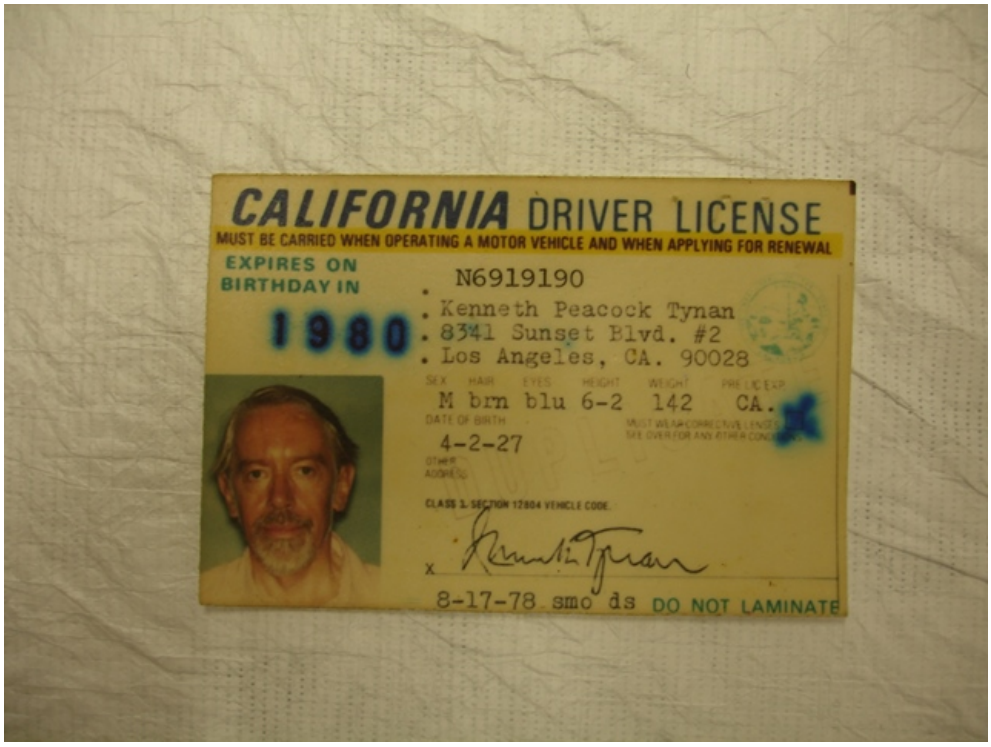


Figure 2.21: T.575:1-1995 Kenneth Tynan's Californian driver's licence, 1978 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 22/01/14)

The next objects I analysed were seven trouser belts of Tynan's. What was immediately noticeable was the marks on the belt straps. Rather than a limited range of holes being used, there were up to four used holes on one particular black leather belt, the indentations in the material plain to see. This can be explained away by different styles of trousers and how they sat on the waist (high or low waisted, the length of belt and belt holes used would differ). But, from comparative analysis

of his trousers in the collection, Tynan had a particular style of trouser that he was comfortable wearing during the 1960s and '70s, and this was not on the natural waist but across the hip bones, which would normally require, if you weren't losing weight, a limited range of belt holes to help retain the trousers in the right place. What his clothes and ephemera reveal is tangible evidence of just how thin and unwell he was two years before his death, as Kathleen Tynan noted (1987 [1988]): 396). The belts are an accurate and tangible measure to work from, the driver's licence evidence to base assumption on, the combination of which affects how we perceive and describe Tynan's life story, and his death. The final section analyses what is lost, when clothes are worn and when they are stored in museum collections.

2.9 Immateriality

Absence is a form of evidence. Telling the stories of objects that do not survive someone's life, or those objects that are offered but are not selected for collections, is an important consideration in light of this research (see Adamson in Harvey, 2009: 193). It is not uncommon for biographers to have little or no access to material as Lee noted in her biography of author Penelope Fitzgerald when describing the inaccessibility of many of the writer's personal papers, destroyed by the subject herself (2013). From a curatorial perspective, this has been considered in a recent exhibition, *Gluck: Art and Identity* at Brighton Museum (18 November 2017-11 March 2018) where what was not preserved of British artist Gluck's life was actively referred to, and curatorial interventions devised around the missing material to suggest and imply themes surrounding a life lived. This

section explores the notion of immateriality, specifically what is not in these two museums' collections, what is not available to analyse. I consider what light this absence can shed on my research and understanding of the life-stories of Tynan, Strong and Reed.

Vivienne Westwood grey wool "archer" jacket c.1998 (T.55:1-3 – 2011)

Reed purchased from a Westwood store an "archer" jacket, worn with a polyester and spandex silver shirt worn with imitation fur and maroon silk "pansied' breeches. He remembers wearing the ensemble to an event at Home House, worn with Westwood Cuban-heeled shoes and DKNY black opaque tights (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). He recited Elizabethan poet Phillip Sidney's 'My True Love Hath My Heart' (from *Song from Arcadia*, c.1580). This was a catwalk look that did not go in to production. It was only after Reed had enquired after the ensemble that store staff agreed to see if it would be made as a special order. He purchased a number of pieces from this particular collection; this garment was one of three he owned from this season. It is styled on a Tudor archer's jacket, specifically designed for ease of movement in the shoulder area (for firing a bow and arrow).

Attached to the label at the neck is a thin loop of baby pink coloured thread. Comparing this to the thread of a sales label still attached to another Westwood jacket of Reed's (T.55:1 to 3-2011, c.1995), it can be assumed that the pink thread once held a label. The questions around why Reed left this thread are intriguing. Many assumptions can be made, including that he was rushing to dress and

didn't have time to snip the thread from the label. This contributes to the biography of the object. The information that would have been printed on the label would have enhanced my understanding of the garment; but this insight is no longer available. The evocation of assumptions is not always paramount when we can simply enjoy the potential for narratives explaining this remaining evidence of purchase.

It is worth noting Gerritsen and Riello's introduction to *Writing Material Culture History* (2015) to qualify analysis of the immaterial. They describe how only a few objects survive to tell the stories of history, going on to state how the objects lost to the past are difficult to interpret, and that decontextualization renders many objects meaningless (Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 8-9). Although I do not agree that absence necessarily implies difficulty in analysing and telling life stories – As anthropologist Kaori O'Connor notes '…things that are absent speak as eloquently as things that are there' (in Gerritsen and Riello, 2015: 88) – there is much to be said for Gerritsen and Riello's regard for meaning imbued in the material object itself, when describing narratives.

Immateriality can be described as exploring not only what does not survive, but what we choose to delete from our lives. When we die, who chooses what is kept and what isn't? Where does it go? What can and can't we uncover through a lack of evidence? As Miller notes, the idea that materiality is only found in a tangible object soon loses traction when we consider what can be mined from the absent: 'the ephemeral, the imaginary, the biological, and the theoretical: all that which would have been external to the simple definition of an artifact [sic]' (2005: 4). But he goes on to challenge the notion of immateriality: 'A theory of objectifica-

tion leaves very little space to a concept of the immaterial, since even to conceptualize is to give form and to create consciousness. At the most we can recognize that people regard some things as less tangible or more abstract' (Miller, 2005: 21). Objects like clothing do not represent the person as such; but the narrative is held in abstract concepts that we tell to construct stories (Keane, in Miller, 2005: 32). Abstract concept it may be, but immateriality challenges our notions of the intangible when we construct stories around it.

Immateriality can refer to what is not in museum collections. How does absence impact on my reading and interpretation of the objects in the V&A and FMB, and of Tynan, Strong and Reed themselves? How do you tell the stories of what doesn't survive, and what can they reveal? Absence is not only that of the object, but of information, and how we negotiate the presence (or lack) of that object, and how it can also hide a loss of context. There are no objects to portray immateriality, only words and memories. The immaterial can be understood in material terms – what is materially missing, rather than what is conceptually misplaced, absent, lost. Immateriality can also be viewed in terms of the absence of materiality – what was seldom, or never, worn, particularly in the case of Reed. Does this suggest these garments are less useful in telling the life-stories of the three men? I suggest not. These things need to be viewed from other perspectives, and other questions posed of them: what was purchased (and seldom, or never, worn, and why); what were the imperatives behind the purchase; and why did Reed keep store labels and price tags on these seldom (if ever) worn garments? This is why I argue that drawing together a number of object-based research practices, and including MCA, offers valid approaches to the immaterial

and the material biography.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I posited that material culture is a valid means of exploring life stories through analysis of clothing worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed, and the objects contained within them. I interrogated the practice and theory of MCA, highlighting how productive it was in examining objects from historical and contextual perspectives, firmly embedding it in the object-based research framework I am proposing. Critiquing the practice, drawing on Mida and Kim's recent work based in fashion studies with which to reflect, and challenge, the re-titling they proposed of the three-stage process, was important. I argue that this confused Prown's deduction and speculation phases with titles that were interchangeable (interpretation and reflection). I introduced my fluid approach to the practice of MCA, to establish a more malleable method towards the clothing and the developing research narrative, especially as the conversation with my supervisors segued in different directions. Gerritsen and Riello's work enabled me to extend Prown's MCA method further, acknowledging the complexities of objects and personal experiences of them, the malleable meanings of things like clothes in different contexts, and the relationships my subjects had with the things they wore.

I positioned the field of material culture in historical and philosophical contexts and approaches, acknowledging the work of Simmel, and the historical contexts that Schlereth and Kopytoff offered material culture studies. Analysing Bourdieu's habitus offered a philosophical framework with which to embed how

three men used clothing to understand their relationships between themselves, context and space. Continuing this analysis, I interrogated clothing and material culture, critiquing Campbell's arguments against the notion of agency and action in choice of fashion to problematize my argument around how we imbue objects with meaning. I do not agree with his notion that people invest too much agency in objects; rather, I urge, like Sontag, Miller, Barad and others, to approach agency, and interpretation, of objects like clothes because of their proximity to the body, and their movement. I then examined concepts around clothing and material culture, analysing theorists such as Küchler and Miller, Tilley and Schlereth to expand my argument for the study of clothing as biographical evidence. Next, I acknowledged and analysed the importance of surface studies to this research, revealing the interactions and boundaries between the surfaces of bodies and clothes, and the external world. I did not require scientific or invasive technologies as the surfaces revealed significant amounts of information in the MCA process.

Highlighting the uniqueness of the everyday object, the proximity of dress to the physical body and the complex relationship we have to those things taken for granted in our daily lives, amplified how impactful the everyday object is on our construction of identity. This is emphasised throughout my research. I interrogated notions of materiality and immateriality when analysing objects that remain or are lost to biographical research of men's lives. It is this accessibility, or lack of, that poses challenges to the material culture and biographical researcher. Understanding Bourdieu's theory of habitus was productive in analysing my perception and interpretation of Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing as my research

progressed. It reminded me to be aware of the spaces these men inhabited, their demeanours and presentation of constructed masculine identities as I contextualised and interpreted their life-stories.

As previously described, the clothes Tynan, Strong and Reed wore do not contain all the information about their histories I would need to retrieve and construct a life-story. But, through MCA of their garments, I found new information (Tynan's Nutter jacket and the repaired damage), insights into their character (Strong's confidence in wearing a Next blouson to visit Versace on holiday), and new questions to ask of their lives (Reed's perception of the movement of the clothes as he walked the streets of London) that I would not have had if I had relied solely on textual analysis and oral history. Throughout, I have often couched my questions within other, more personal questions and conundrums presented by the subjects, what decisions they made – or not – about their dressed appearance, and personal choices in relation to others made. This is amidst a lifetime of dressed preferences, adoption and rejection of masculine dress and fashions, selection and refusal by these men. Combining MCA of clothes with object-based research enabled me to construct new narratives of their lives. The following chapter explores the field of biography and life-writing, in particular limitations regarding a lack of emphasis on material analysis, as I see them. I advance the concept of the biography of the object and factors influencing the narratives, including memory and gendered readings of Tynan, Strong and Reed's life-stories.

Chapter 3

Life-writing and the Biography of Men's Clothes

Standing in "Kouros" pose,[1] *left foot forward and hands in pockets, Sir Roy Strong presents himself in a seemingly relaxed manner. But the look is anything but casual; it is very formal. Strong stares, unsmiling, directly at the reader of* L'Uomo Vogue *(April 1993: 94). Two small boxwood trees in square containers cut into topiary balls are placed either side of him. Everything in this image, from the mottled backdrop and powerful black frame containing this very classical photograph, emphasise formality. The title announcing the photograph states 'La Nuova Divisa da Giardiniere': the new gardener's uniform. Strong is depicted as a very stylish gardener. The text describes how he and his wife Julia have created in England the largest formal garden since 1945. Formality, structure, line: the trio binding this image together.*

[1] An asymmetric Classical sculptural pose.

Strong has always been aware of the power of visual information to position himself in a particular time and place and in a particular way, evidenced through his very careful presentation of the dressed self in the media since the early 1960s. In this image, he uses well-designed clothing and allows himself to be portrayed in a particular photographic frame, to tell a very particular story: that of a polymath. The former director of the National Portrait Gallery and V&A Museum, a gardener, and a stylish, fashionable man, is someone to be taken seriously, suggested through his stance and choice of clothing for the photoshoot.

What softens the formality are the clothes Strong is wearing. His 'new gardener's uniform' is a Versace soft leather blouson (collar wrapping across the body, the soft sheen of black leather folding across his body), dark grey trousers by British high street store Principles and a pair of slender black boots. I have used the narratives at the start of each chapter to evidence my thesis, highlighting how Tynan, Strong and Reed used the representation of dress as a way of constructing identities. Through analysing their clothes, such as Strong's ensemble, using MCA and developing my research findings with object-based research, I argue that this framework of methods develops biographical insights. It is to the biographies of material objects, the clothes we wear, and how they can augment our understanding of someone's life, that this thesis now turns.

This chapter examines the method of biography and the broad field of life-writing as a tool with which to construct biographies of objects. It continues to conflate MCA of men's clothing with object-based research to describe these stories. The narratives embedded in the everyday clothing worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed are analysed and critiqued, utilising Kopytoff's theories around the biography

of objects. Acting as a lens through which their lives can be viewed, clothes become mute witnesses to these men's lives (see Prown, 1982: 7; Hodder, in Denzin et al., 1994: 393). The aim is to scrutinise their biographies more rigorously and thoughtfully, using a broader range of methods and material with which to do so. As well as establishing biographies of pieces of Tynan's, Strong's and Reed's clothing using primary and secondary research, it is equally important to evaluate how literary and visual material is "mapped" by the researcher onto MCA research when augmenting a life-story. My approach when analysing material objects was, as Hoskins (1998), Lee (2008), Caine (2010) and others stress, as considered and critical an evaluation of facts and information as possible.

In this chapter I also examine and reflect on vital facets and the nature of the life-writing methodology, including memory and truth, empathy and criticality, and 'materialised memory' (Abel, unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013). These biographical tools are used to interrogate the research material. I explore gendered approaches to life-writing. My methodology is reinforced through prioritising the use of clothes as core material evidence with which to examine a life-story. Analysing everyday objects, the memories that I gleaned from oral testimony, and textual analysis proved that the insights and new information gained from the proposed research framework is an original contribution to knowledge for fashion and life-writing studies.

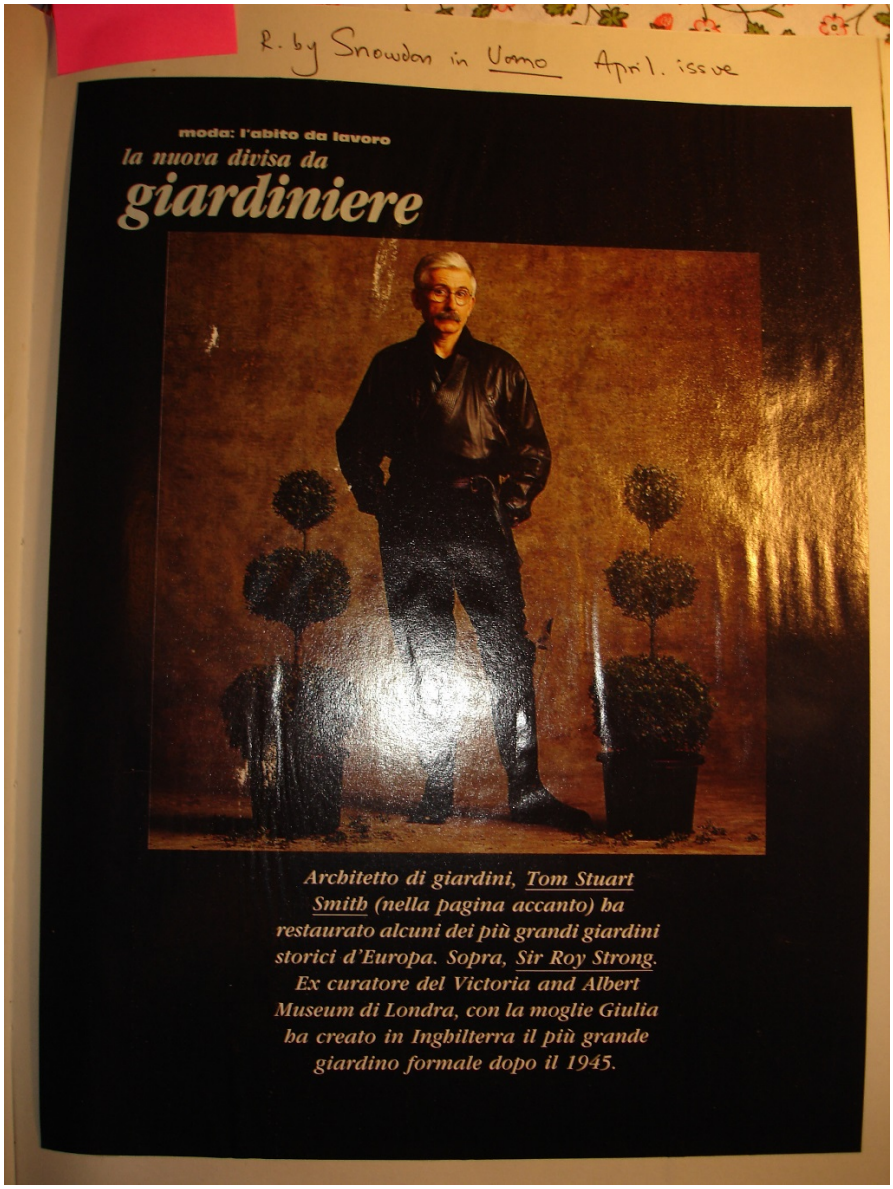


Figure 3.1: From the scrapbooks of Roy Strong and Julia Trevelyan Oman. Image from *La Nuova Divisa da Giardiniere*. In *L'Uomo Vogue*, April 1993: 94 (scrapbook 'LVI 1993-1: March 09th to May 13th', accessed 27/01/16)

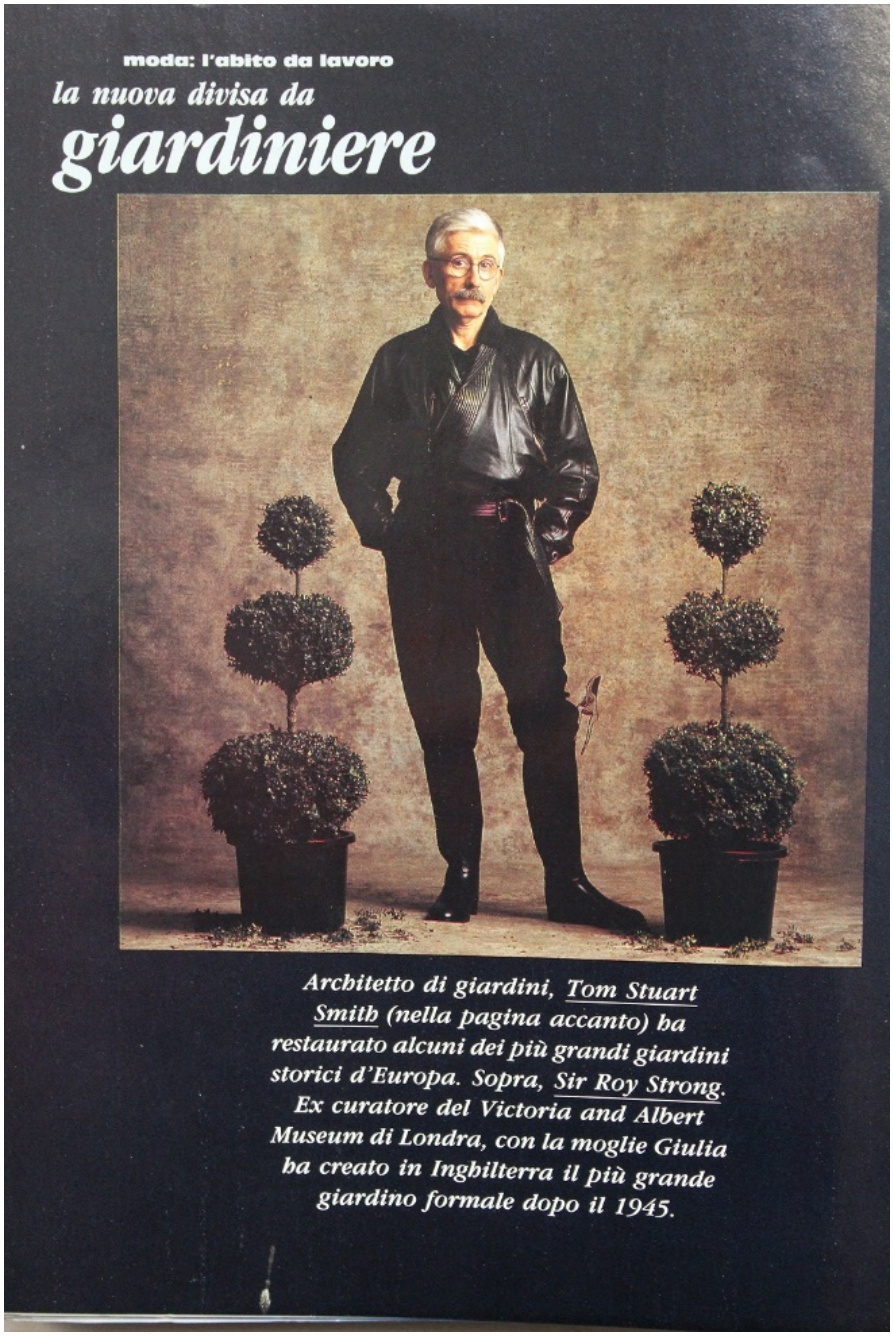


Figure 3.2: *La Nuova Divisa da Giardiniere*. In *L'Uomo Vogue*, April 1993: 94

3.1 Contextualising literary biography and life-writing

This section presents main themes and methodology intrinsic to historical literary biography and its contemporary incarnation life-writing. The task of biographers is to construct stories, based on evidence, mixed with personal perspectives and laced with an element of assumption and scepticism (controlled believing). It is a story of someone's life, told by someone else. The history of biography and life-writing has been comprehensively examined and critiqued by theorists and practitioners (see Schulkind, 1976; Shelston, 1977; Hoskins, 1998; Parke, 2002; Anderson, 2005; Lee, 2008, 2009; Gillies, 2009; Caine, 2010; Cline and Angier, 2010 for critique and analysis of methodology, history and practice of biography and life-writing) and it is not within the remit of this thesis to interrogate these histories; I only refer to it to augment my argument.

Approaches to biographical narrative-making have been established for over 2000 years,[2] and the history of biography and autobiography is closely linked. Early narratives, such as Saint Augustine's *Confessions* (c.398-400CE [Blaiklock [ed.], 1983]) reflected on the inward gaze, the 'consciousness of self' that came to define the Western autobiographical genre (Anderson, 2005: 18-9). James Boswell's *The Life of [Samuel] Johnson* (1791) shifted biographical focus towards the analytical amalgamation of diaries and personal conversations with the subjects. These texts reflect the attention to detail and nuance that signpost influential life-writing

[2] See the life of Socrates, *Memorabilia* by one of his students, Xenophon, or the life of the King of Cyprus as described in *Evagoras* by Isocrates. Seutonius compiled the lives of twelve Caesars in the first or second century ADE.

of later centuries. But 19th century biography is characterised as memorialising and self-aggrandizing, where human foibles and private moments were avoided in favour of celebrating virtuous lives (Caine, 2010: 38), goodness and nobility (Woolf in Caine, 2010: 40). Elizabeth Gaskell compiled a posthumous biography of novelist Charlotte Brontë (1857) that presented insights into the familial context and 'material detail' on Brontë that was equally praised and criticised for lacking critical analysis of the author's life (Parke, 2002: 21). It is this attention to 'material detail' of a life when crafting a life-story of Tynan, Strong and Reed that will be explored further.

By the end of the 19th century, novelist Henry James was railing against the reductivist, self-aggrandizing, rather than reflective, nature of biography; he described it as the 'thinning' of a life (in Parke, 2002: 19). In contrast to Victorian commemorations, early 20th century biography reflected other interests: unfailing honesty, challenging the pious virtuousness of the previous century's writing, an increasing interest in social and cultural psychology and psychoanalytic perspectives. Author Edmund Gosse wrote *Father and Son: a study of two temperaments* (1907). Lytton Strachey, scholar and member of the Bloomsbury group, wrote *Eminent Victorians* (1918), offering a new method of biography: brief, often ironic in tone, openly critical, with an interest in private and usually unconscious motivations he perceived in the subject (Caine, 2010: 39). He believed the biographer was required to 'maintain his own freedom of spirit. It is not his business to be complimentary; it is his business to lay bare the facts of the case, as he understands them' (in Caine, 2010: 40).

Woolf was one of the first authors to use the term "new biography" in the 1920s

and 1930s. She described the fundamental concern with the practice of writing about a life: how to combine 'the hard granite of factual truth with the light of personality' (Caine, 2010: 40). In the new biography, personality was considered more revealing than deeds. Brevity, criticality and scepticism and 'a commitment to psychoanalytical notions of the unconscious, and a belief that no one is well served, neither reader nor biographical subject, by suppressing the complexities of the human psyche' were favoured (Parke, 2002: 27).

What is evident in the practice of the new biography was the influence of psychoanalysts such as Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung and their theories around the unconscious, the development of character and personality in childhood and the existence of universal archetypes. The private, the unconscious and the deeply-embedded motivations and processes that drive a human being to do what they do was dissected by biographers throughout the 20th century, inspired by Freud's depth psychology (the notion of a secret life that runs deep under the conscious level [Parke, 2002: 25]). Marx's 'cultural-material description of history' also influenced how lives were written (Parke, 2002: 25). Biography became more analytical, sceptical, and objective. But this also encouraged debate surrounding the role of the biographer in telling a life narrative, as Woolf describes, where 'our knowledge of others is mere "emanations of ourselves"' (in Parke, 2002: 28). One route for biographers through this personal conflation of the biographer's self and that of their subject was to draw on symbolic and significant events in a life, most importantly examples of someone's work, to reflect their choices and describe their character (Parke, 2002: 23); for instance, Tynan's writing on comedic actor Mel Brooks (1980).

The term "life-writing" was established in the 1970s. It is used to describe the practice of using the broadest range of material with which to research and analyse a life; not only paper ephemera, but visual documentation and material objects, oral testimony, memories and life events (Caine, 2010: 69). These objects included household goods, but not clothing. What also developed was the importance of examining the lives of, as historian Professor Barbara Caine notes, 'ordinary, marginalised and oppressed people, of recognising the value of popular and personal writing and of coming to terms with cultural forms which had not previously been accepted within dominant literary or cultural canons' (2010: 70). This interest in the ordinary was captured by historians interested in "history from below" (Caine, 2010: 70). It was also a fertile period for practitioners and academics critiquing histories, imperialism and hierarchy, challenging gender and ethnic imbalances and preconceived assumptions surrounding historical lives. Recently, biographers and fiction writers have referred not only to objects (Paula Byrne's *The Real Jane Austin*, 2014), but about things mirroring personal relationships, such as letters (Leanne Shapton's fictional *Important Artifacts…* [sic], 2009) and even towns (Nicholas Blincoe's *Bethlehem: biography of a town*, 2017). The biography of objects as much as human lives is gaining greater attention in the field of life-writing.

Since the 1970s post-modern and post-structuralist biographical perspectives have emerged. The impact of research on a biographer's approach when describing and analyzing someone's life has affected the way the biography itself is structured: different formats, heavily influenced by the life of the subject, have emerged. Both Caine and Lee note the importance of allowing a subject's life

to dictate the narrative form and structure (Caine, 2010: 87; Lee, 2009: 122). A number of biographers discuss allowing their research to influence their approach to their subjects; for example, Anthony Bailey wrote *Rembrandt's House* (1978), a biography of Dutch seventeenth century artist Rembrandt van Rijn. Taking a loosely chronological route through the artist's life, each chapter was themed according to Bailey's responses to the research material. One chapter explored Rembrandt's house room by room (based on an insolvency inventory taken of household contents), a strategy which allowed Bailey to reveal what these contents could tell us about Rembrandt; the man, his lifestyle and taste. Bailey described the process of creating this narrative as acting like a detective, allowing and accepting inevitable imperfections in interpretation and, reflecting Rembrandt's artistic practice, experimenting with structure in telling the story (see also Halpern, 1978). Lee, too, has structured some of her biographies in a similar manner, drawing out themes as her research continued, allowing these themes to shape the structure of the work (for instance, her narratives on Edith Wharton and Woolf). Both biographers visited the sites their subjects inhabited, and biographies of their subjects reflected on their personal research journey (Bailey, 2014: 176; Lee, 1997: 768-772. See also Kathleen Tynan, 1988: 'Epilogue'). I hoped that I too would experience something of this in my research. I was fortunate to inhabit the space one of my subjects, Strong, lived in, when researching his scrapbooks. This experience influenced how I approached and interpreted my research material.

As previously noted, depth psychology or psychoanalysis (particularly Freudian) has become a tool with which a number of literary biographers have explored

lives since the early 20th century; for instance, Jacqueline Rose's 1992 work on poet Sylvia Plath. The often difficult relationship between a deed done and the unconscious impetus behind it has influenced many "new" biographers' approaches to their subjects. Family dynamics, repeated patterns and self-destructive behaviours have become rich sources of material with which to analyse a life (Caine, 2010: 41). This type of contextualising of literary (or otherwise) output has extended the practice of modern biographers to locating the subject in the context of their wider world. Added to this, since the 1970s the biographers' own life-story has been interrogated in relation to their work, in that their personal background, gender, socio-economic standing, education and beliefs is reflected in their choice of subject, and interpreted as influencing how they present a life-story (see Woolf, *Orlando* (1928 [2003]). See also: Michael Holroyd's biography of Strachey himself, 1971; Cohen's interview with Michael Holroyd, *The Paris Review* website, 2013).

The literary structure of this recent life-writing influenced the outcomes of this research, interpretation and structure. My analysis of Tynan, Strong and Reed's life-stories and the biography of the objects work alongside each other or separately, as a layering device of information and insight. How the reader is guided through the narratives of my research is a journey that required self-reflection when constructing these three lives through their clothing, and is further analysed in the next section.

3.2 Modern Life-writing and Dress

This section reflects on the essential reason for this research: the lack of MCA, or any material analysis at all, of the clothing worn by a subject. In analysis of a small sample of biographies (appendix 1) when clothing was referred to, only the descriptive elements of any material culture analysis was evidenced as part of the research. For instance, in Hermione Lee's biography of Woolf (1997), Paula Byrne's *The Real Jane Austen* (2014), and Benjamin Wild's publication *A Life in Fashion: the wardrobe of Cecil Beaton* (2016), the materiality of worn clothing was not privileged or related specifically back to the body of the wearer, their choices, where and with what they would have worn it with, or insights and informed assumption into why they may have worn this garment. As I described in the introduction, Wild gets close in describing Beaton's clothes, but I did not read any descriptions of the materiality of the garments, or analysis of what this might tell us about him. My thesis aims to encourage engagement with MCA and the materiality of men's dress in biographical research, be it literary, an exhibition, or historical outcomes. The following MCA of Reed's Gigli suit demonstrates how constructing biographies of someone's dress can enlarge our understanding of the wearer's life.

Romeo Gigli mustard striped cotton two-piece suit (BATMC 2006.251.245; 245a)

Going by visual evidence sourced in his scrapbooks, Strong is regularly featured during 1997 and 1998 wearing a striped double-breasted suit by Italian designer

Romeo Gigli. He is depicted wearing it in a cartoon rendition in *Country Living* (Roe, 1997: 72). On 07 June 1997, he is photographed in it at a book signing of the *Roy Strong Diaries 1967-87*, in Trafalgar Park, near Salisbury (figure 3.3). These images confirm that, at this point in time, with regular public duties such as book signings or leading cultural tours, Strong was carefully constructing an "informal formality" to his style of public dressing: a suit (formal) made of linen (casual, crumpled).

In an MCA session with Cannon-Jones, we explored the physical and material details of the suit, but as we described the physical details, our conversation veered off into the deduction and speculation stages. Given to FMB in 2006, the suit is Italian size 50, for a man with a 100-centimetre chest. This is a more casual suit, suggested by certain styled elements, plain sleeve cuffs (no buttons), deep welted pockets and patch pockets (the stripes precisely aligned), a high and broad lapel, and high buttoning of the jacket. Cannon-Jones questioned the button-hole on the left lapel. Was the designer purposefully using a key hole stitching, instead of the common bar hole stitching? Or did the factory not have the correct button-hole machine to produce the bar hole; or did they simply not have time for hand-stitching? The manufacture is professional, but suggests the factory contained only basic equipment. The suit reflects a lighter-weight Neopolitan tailoring style.

The trousers are button fly fastening. The suit material is lightweight cotton. There is very little padding, lining or membrane used to support the structure of the jacket. The collar is a self-under construction (the same cloth being used on both sides and reinforced only with lining, rather than sturdier materials being

Figure 3.3: Image from the scrapbooks of Roy Strong and Julia Trevelyan Oman (scrapbook 'LXXX 1997-1. April 03rd 1997 to June 24th', accessed 28/01/16)

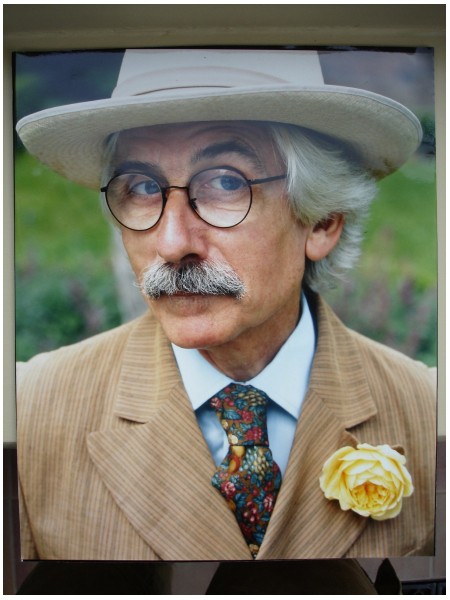


Figure 3.4: Loose image found in a scrapbook of Roy Strong and Julia Trevelyan Oman. On the back of the image is written '1998' in red pen (accessed 18/11/15)

used to support the shape and fall of the collar). The creasing behind the knees and crook of the elbows, indicating wear, is evident still after years of storage. I deduced this was a suit Strong wore regularly, one that was worn for many different occasions, accessorized in a number of ways to make it appear more, or less, formal. The regularity of visual evidence of Strong wearing the suit corroborates my deduction.

What can constructing biographies of a subject's clothing reveal, that wasn't known before? Mitchell's notion of the importance of investigating the 'dressed stories' of someone's life (2012: 43) is relevant to this discussion. In 1928 Woolf reflected in her novel *Orlando*: 'Vain trifles as they seem, clothes have, they say, more important offices than merely to keep us warm. They change our view of the world and the world's view of us' (92). Given her self-reflective acknowledgement (nearly 100 years ago) of the power of clothes to impact on our lives, my thesis encourages biographical researchers to approach a subject's clothing as ev-

Figure 3.5: BATMC 2006.251.245; 245a Romeo Gigli striped mustard cotton two-piece suit (accessed FMB, 10/07/15)

idence of their lives, to analyse for signs of materiality with which to expand an understanding of their lives. The questions raised by this approach are those that I posed to test my hypothesis; the hypothesis that the clothes could prove something about Tynan, Strong and Reed's lives. How did they wear their clothes? What could the materiality of the garments reveal? What could analysis of their paper ephemera and associated archives reveal that might amplify our understanding of their lives, desires, wants and needs? My aim was to present the rich evidence clothing as material artefact offers life-stories. Strong's suit revealed very little wear and tear, but it is clear from visual evidence that he wore it often. It not only suggests that he cared for the garment and that it was manufactured well and from good quality cloth. But, through the creased inner elbows and knees and the visual evidence (of him looking debonair and self-assured), this was a suit he appreciated for its stylishness and comfort. This is proof that Strong was using clothes as a construction of a number of different identities with which to present to the world a creative, charismatic representation of self.

Compared to Strong's suit, the damage evidenced on Tynan's Nutter safari jacket analysed in chapter two introduces contrasting approaches to someone's clothing as evidence of their lives, as I explore in the next section.

3.3 Fashioning evidence: Tynan

From literary analysis of the media's perceptions of Tynan, I ascertained that the portrayal of him in the media, and how he was often perceived amongst the cultural and artistic elite, was as someone cultivating a sense of an earlier era through

his demeanour (Tynan, 1967: ix; Johnson, 2010: 275-8). In contrast, his charismatic and controversial actions, such as making a purposeful stand against censorship by being the first to use the work "fuck" on national television in the UK (Shellard, 2003: 300-1), reflects a complicated character. It is also worth remembering that it was his job to find the next great actor or play to laud or lambast; it was what he was known for – his reputation as a theatre critic depended on it. Tynan had a quote attached to his writing desk: 'Rouse tempers, goad and lacerate, raise whirlwinds' (Tynan, 1988: 3). I argue this statement is reflected in his choice of clothing too. Tynan sought attention through his dress. To Tracy, her father's choice in dress, sometimes extreme, was a very conscious decision to provoke his "audience": he was not someone who quietly entered a room (in conversation with author, 10/05/17). In both his personal and professional life, Tynan strived to push things to the limit.

What follows is further exploration and analysis of elements of Tynan's life-story, utilising the proposed research framework, including oral testimony with Tracy Tynan. Through her narrative, what is presented is a perspective of a life "one step removed" from the man himself: his daughter speaks on Tynan's behalf. Tracy associates memories and assumptions around Tynan, some of which were challenged disabused through the extant wardrobe, or evidenced in the materiality of the sometimes damaged clothing her father wore.

Dorso yellow safari jacket (T.509:1-1995)

In Tynan's collection are two cotton safari jackets by American company Dorso, with a store in Beverly Hills. In the final decade of his life, Tynan was replicating a

leisured silhouette he had worn earlier in his life (the dark mohair jacket by Nutter in the UK examined in chapter two), for lighter, unlined versions in bright block colours by Dorso, including an off-white version (Tracy Tynan in conversation with author, 07/04/17). Was this his response to living in a tropical climate, requiring lighter fabrics and colours? On appearance, it appears so. Kathleen Tynan refers to a 'pale yellow tropical drill suit' worn with a black shirt that Tynan wore in July 1970. It is likely that this is a reference to the Dorso suit. Through MCA, it is evident the manufacturing quality of the Dorso jackets are not high, suggesting a mass-produced garment. The bright tone, wide collar and informal cut suggests a casual silhouette. Some edges of the cloth are cut with pinking shears and some are not overlock-stitched; for instance, the back central trouser seam. This suggests the trouser waistband was altered, probably taken in. This corroborates the established evidence that Tynan was losing weight at some point in the final decade of his life.

Figure 3.6: T.509:1-1995 Dorso yellow safari jacket, c.mid-1970s (accessed Cloth-worker's Centre, 15/11/14)

Figure 3.7: T.509:1-1995 Dorso yellow safari jacket, c.mid-1970s. The top of the back central seam on the trousers is cut with pinking shears, and not overlocked (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 27/04/18)

Tynan's reputation for controversy is useful to pursue. He played off elements of high and low culture easily and his friendships with the creative and artistic elite implies a contradictory and complicated nature. He mixed expensive and inexpensive garments to create an effect, wearing a Tommy Nutter (bespoke, expensive) suit with a Cecil Gee belt (good value but inexpensive). These garments were more readily available to him in London as the 1960s progressed. Under MCA, the Dorso jacket analysed in this section reveals a garment that was made of an inexpensive material, with unfinished overlocking and zigzag edges cut with pinking shears (figure 3.7). This does not suggest a man who was particular about

the quality of his clothing, and by implication, other things: he was purchasing garments that were of average quality, but, through their bright tones and casual style, made a statement that other people noticed.

Using textual analysis, what was of particular interest was Tynan's appearance. In people's perceptions of him, his appearance featured loudly – literally and metaphorically. Elaine Dundy dramatically describes her initial perceptions of him in her autobiography *Life Itself!*:

> Tall and thin, fair English-pink complexion, high cheekbones dramatically dominating the outline of his elongated face. His forehead was high and bony, his pale beige-blond hair curved back from his brow like a wing, and his large well-shaped mouth gave him an attractive equine look. All this, together with his Mickey Mouse wristwatch, cast a spell over me (2001: 105).

She describes how Tynan operated in the cultural milieu of 1950s Britain, at the centre of creative cultural gravity and acutely aware of his maelstrom effect:

> Ken and the fifties [the decade] were a perfect match. The explosion of post-war theatre needed a pre-eminent illuminator and memorializer, and there was Ken, able to illuminate, memorialize, celebrate and excoriate like no other critic. Like Beerbohm[3] and Shaw[4] before him, he was as much a star as those performing on the stage. Moreover, for the delectation of first-night audiences among whom he sat, he would appear in eye-catching outfits, such as a suit of dove gray [sic] with a velvet collar, enlivened by pastel-colored [sic] shirts in primrose, ashes of rose or apple green (Dundy, 2001: 131).

Described by Kathleen in her biography of him (1988), she remembers one particular evening soon after they had met: 'I see him at the Ritz in Madrid... I see him dressing for the evening. The suit is banana cream, the shirt a sea-green and

[3]Max Beerbohm, theatre critic.

[4]George Bernard Shaw, writer and theatre critic, to whom Tynan was often compared to in style and courageousness of critique.

aquamarine water print. The tie is blue grosgrain. Socks are striped pink, shoes a pale dove-grey. He has managed to make this popinjay's outfit of his own design look beautiful' (1988: p. 194). Other people have commented on Tynan's appearance as well. Richard Burton, in his published diaries, refers unflatteringly to him, comparing Tynan's slender frame in fashionable men's dress to German World War Two concentration camps: 'Friday 30th [May 1969].... Ken has always looked like Belsen with a suit on. Dachau in Daks. Buchenwald in brown velvet' (Williams [ed.], 2012: 292). The physicality of Tynan, the stylish demeanor (cigarettes as accessory), the elegant clothing he dressed himself in (some of which cost large sums of money and caused marital arguments) were carefully crafted by him – at whatever financial or emotional cost.

Such contemporary commentary confirms Tracy's feeling that Tynan's style was not 'classically tasteful':

> But it was unique, and it fit [sic] him, and he could carry it off. And I like that sort of uniqueness about him that he had. Nobody looked like him.... I don't feel that he was extreme, but he was interesting. And, occasionally things didn't work out so well, but he sort of committed to whatever he was wearing... (in conversation with author, 10/05/17).

If Tynan did have any doubts about his apparel, he didn't admit it. This again reflects a contradictory, complex, sometimes contrary personality, one who felt personal slights easily, reflective and unreflective at the same time. Like the quote above his writing desk, his choice of clothes, and notes to self indicate a strong ego that refused to entertain others' perceptions of him.

By May 1979, Tynan asks in a letter to Laurence Olivier that his messy handwriting be forgiven – he writes 'shaky due to illness' (Tynan, 1994: 630). He was

writing from the Brompton Hospital in Fulham Road. In February of 1980, Tynan refers to losing weight whilst trying to write in Mexico (staying there as the weather conditions might help, as he described it, his 'wonky chest'), but he blames the food and water: he writes 'I lost weight and now resemble a bronzed but bloodless vampire. Women flock to me and hang their coats on me' (Tynan, 1994: 641). Tynan was worried about the scare-mongering stories being unleashed about him in the British press: rumours were circulating by April of 1980 of his near-death experiences during emergency hospital visits, and he feared he was starting to lose the faith of commissioning editors and losing work (Tynan, 1994: 645).

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, a sense of "truth" can be established from the questions that arose through my research. Oral testimony has corroborated many initial research findings and speculations, and contradicted others. On appearance, Tynan wore safari jackets like the Nutter and Dorso pieces often; in fact, so often that the Nutter was damaged; MCA revealed this repetitive use. MCA, textual analysis and oral testimony revealed emerging patterns regarding his selection and wearing of certain styles of garments. From his wardrobes in the V&A I noted he wore a number of safari-style jackets, some more well-made than others, including the bright yellow Dorso safari jacket, suggesting a man who had found a silhouette he was comfortable wearing and that suited his body shape in its expanding and diminishing physical state (the taking in of the trousers), in different environments (London and Los Angeles). I assumed, through my material analysis, and through the fact he mixed high-end men's designer clothing with cheaper options, that it revealed a creative, frugal, expansive, and contra-

dictory, mind. Corroborating these ideas and informed assumptions was possible through MCA and examination of other objects like the driver's licence and memories revealed in oral testimony with his daughter. Continuing this thread of thought, I move on to examine the biography of objects and emphasize the use of clothes as evidence in life-writing, with particular reference to a suit of Reed's.

3.4 Objects and biography

What has been evidenced throughout this thesis is the primacy of the object in the biographical narrative of someone's life-story. As proof, what we wear on or against our bodies captures small, subtle details that can reveal large amounts of information and insight for biographical researchers to work with. Objects become, as I previously quoted Abel, 'materialized memory' (unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013). The user is the constructor of the initial narratives; the researcher then interprets and analyses those objects from external perspectives for evidence of a life lived. This section explores the intimate relationship between object and biography, between the lives of the object and the lives of Tynan, Strong and Reed, who wore, or who surrounded themselves with, these things.

The following ensemble is an example of an object linked to biography via memory (discussed later). Reed's memories of what was, to him, an everyday suit, were heightened through a document hidden in the ensemble.

Romeo Gigli linen/cotton suit, T.47:1-3 - 2011

This grey, blue and white pinstripe two-piece suit from the spring/summer 1996 collection was likely purchased from the Browns fashion store, South Molton Street, London (established in 1970 by Joan and Sidney Burstein). Reed remembers having an odd relationship with the designer's clothing, recalling the suit as 'quite dull' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). Reed purchased a number of Gigli items, perhaps inspired by a friend who studied fashion design and who admired his work. Interestingly, he describes this as less of a statement suit for him and something that he would not have pre-determined as a season's purchase, unlike the buying of the Yamamoto white satin rever suit (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). It is more "toned down" than the garments he was purchasing at the time. The material (95% linen, 5% cotton) is unlined and supple and, Reed remembers, very comfortable. He believes he would have purchased the suit at a discount price during a sale season, seeing it as something that he would get some wear out of, such as when meeting his parents (a more conservative outfit befitting the situation). He imagined the suit being useful for a holiday in a warm climate. As Reed remembers:

> It was always an odd look. It was formal, but not. Almost an Edwardian [look]. Wing collar, perhaps playing on the historical thing. I may even have worn this with a straw boater – a [Herbert] Johnson [millinery company] – and possibly even a pince-nez. Depending on how I was feeling. If I was going with my parents on holiday, it's fashionable, it's Italian. And I could pretend I was in a Marcel Proust novel! (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15).

The trousers have deep turned-up cuffs, with jetted pockets front and back. There is a smaller cash (or fob) pocket set in to the front right waistline of the

Figure 3.8: T.47:1-3 – 2011 Romeo Gigli suit. Detail of jacket inside collar (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 07/09/16)

trousers. There are two pleats at the front (American pleats, in that they fold away from the centre, helping to create a slimmer silhouette). The suit was worn with a Gigli long-sleeve white shirt with a wing-tip collar. The shirt has yellow stains appearing around the sleeve cuffs and neck of the shirt, as described in chapter one, to do with chemical staining over time.

Analysing the suit revealed it to have been well cared for, with little wear and tear. As part of the MCA process, I searched pockets for objects within objects for further evidence. In the back right trouser pocket is a twice-folded A-4 music manuscript of George Friedrich Handel's 'Art Thou Troubled', words by W.G. Rothery, a song for Medium Voice (Novello Publishing Limited). When Reed was shown this manuscript in a visit to the Clothworker's, he was surprised that it was there, commenting:

> Good grief! I have a terrible memory for music. I can't remember poems,

> or music. I'm thinking [I] possibly [wore it to] a poetry evening at Home House. It must have been summer, as it is a lightweight suit.… I must have planned to go somewhere, where I knew there would be a piano and I would have the opportunity to play it. My friend, Robin Dutt [author] organized poetry evenings [at Home House]. It was always a highlight in my calendar, it was always an excuse to buy something to wear just for one evening.… It's a remarkably tame suit for this evening (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15).

His self-proclaimed terrible memory for music may explain the folded manuscript still in the back pocket. Reed described how he didn't like folding music manuscripts, so this would have been taken somewhere for a reason, such as accompanying a singer at a recital. Further, he suggested this may have been the last time he wore the suit, as he would never have left the manuscript in his back pocket if he had worn the suit again due to the uncomfortable feeling of the folded paper through the material against his body (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). Reed's memories that surfaced through undertaking oral testimony as I analysed the suit through MCA, and corroborated ideas through oral testimony with him, revealed a careful and considered man when it came to his clothing. Finding objects within objects, like this manuscript, are part of the MCA process, and the memories they released, through oral testimony sessions, were valuable in constructing a sense of Reed's personality, and life-story.

In light of these insights into Reed's memories of his clothing, it is productive to examine Kopytoff's theories underlining the value of things beyond production or commercial aspects, to reinforcing the primary theme of the biography of objects. Kopytoff's writing in socio-cultural sociologist Arjun Appadurai's seminal publication, *The Social Life of Things* (1986) establishes the importance of analyzing objects when viewing lives. He describes how the biographies of objects

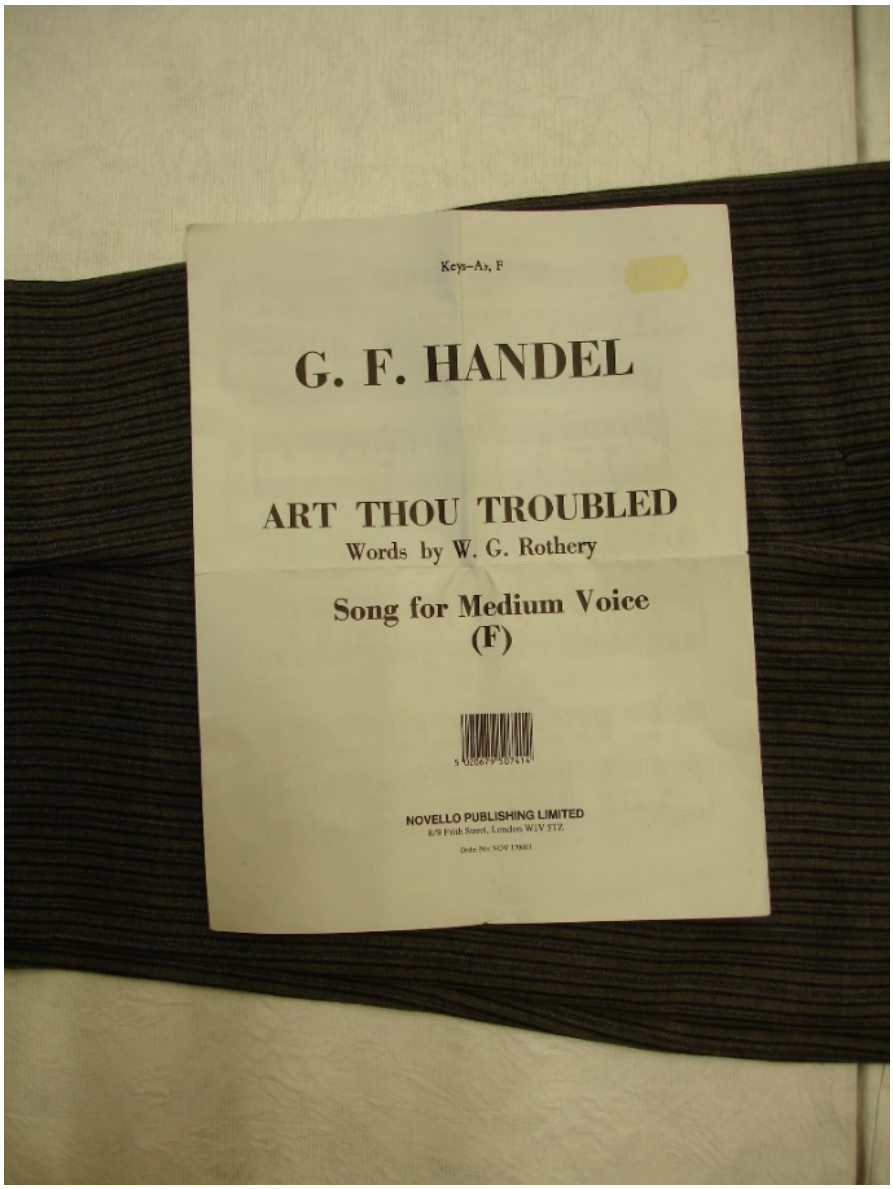


Figure 3.9: T.47:1-3 – 2011 Romeo Gigli trousers (detail) with music manuscript, G.F. Handel, 'Art Thou Troubled' found in the back right-hand pocket (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 16/07/14)
Trousers: 'Bifurcated lower-body garments made from textiles, fabric, or leather have existed since ancient times, and trousers rank among the most fundamental pieces of clothing' (Steele, 2005: 339)

can reveal what might otherwise remain obscured (in Appardurai, 2005: 67). It is worth quoting at length the questions of objects he posed because they have reverberated throughout material culture studies since it was written:

> In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people: What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized "ages" or periods in the thing's "life," and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness? (Kopytoff, in Appadurai, 2005: 66-7).

Kopytoff describes how objects with difficult biographies, such as the life of an object that follows a different trajectory to one we expect, is as challenging as a difficult life. Presumptions and assumptions reveal our cultural, aesthetic, historical biases and judgements, our convictions and our values (Kopytoff, 2005: 67). He notes how practitioners bring assumption (informed or otherwise) to the task of life-writing (2005: 67-8). We presume that all lives are made up of multiple stories – personal and private, public, familial, psychological – and, through the biographical process, we discard and prioritise narratives to suit us. As Kopytoff notes, biographies of things cannot but be similarly partial (2005: 67-8).

Turkle develops this idea when she states: 'objects have life roles that are multiple and fluid' (2007: 6). Objects carry biographies, not only of sale and resale value, previous owners, the resources that have been used to maintain it, but also a social value such as the owner's background, judgements, and why they chose this object over another. Hierarchical social structures and the socio-cultural influences that have shaped the owner/subject and their environment, and the per-

spective of the researcher, impacts on how a life is interpreted and presented, and how the biography of an object is analysed. As Kopytoff describes, '…all… biographies – economic, technical, social – may or may not be culturally informed. What would make a biography cultural is not what it deals with, but how and from what perspective' (in Appadurai, 2005: 68). The "how" I have begun to sketch out in discussion of MCA; the "what" refers to the perspective and approach of the researcher. A wider context informs and augments existing knowledge; so too, a deeper understanding of how someone wears their clothes can suggest potential avenues of research and exploration for the researcher.

Analysing how someone adorns their clothing is productive to explore when regarding the proximity of dress to the body. Pearce expands this narrative when she describes:

> The emotional relationship of projection and internalization which we have with objects seems to belong with our very earliest experience and (probably therefore) remains important to us all our lives. Equally, this line of thought brings us back to the intrinsic link between our understanding of our own bodies and the imaginative construction of the material world… (1992: 47).

Applying this idea to dress, which Adam Phillips also described in chapter two, we use clothing as a barrier, and an invitation, to our lives in different ways to other objects. Clothing can physically take on our body shape and form, from the crook of the elbow to material stretched across our surfaces. Dress, through proximity to the body, literally and physically absorbs our DNA through sweat, shedding skin, blood and other substances betraying our embodied presence on and within the object. As we move through our everyday life, body and clothing rub against each other, leaving marks, stains, patination, the imprint of physical

presence, a tangible record of biography (see Baert, 2017). In this way, clothing is different to other personal and material things that we live with that have established biographies, including letters, diaries and photographs. Clothes act as connective tissue between our bodies and our lives (see Grosz, in Candlin and Guins, 2009: 126: see also Appadurai [ed] et al, 2005; and Bill Brown [chapter 10] in Candlin and Guins, 2009 for a discussion on the philosophical material nature of "things"; see also Hoskins, 1998).

The current interest in the biography of objects and life-writing was explored at *The Lives of Objects* conference (University of Oxford, 20-22 September 2013). Papers presented were pivotal in the development of ideas for this thesis. From existing work on the practice and theory of life-writing, what emerged was the lack of reflection and analysis in historical biography regarding the object. What was clear however, is that clothing-as-object has influenced biographers in the past but only as a device to describe how stylish or unstylish the subject was, or what they chose to surround themselves with, rather than something – which is the argument this thesis makes – with which to reinforce biographical insights and understandings of the character.

Researchers are often dealing with unique things; there are seldom two of any one object in the same place or museum collection, for numerous reasons including a lack of storage space, a unique piece, or the slender chances of the identical object being found. Emphasised in many of the conference presentations was how things form a part of every human being's daily life, and how they gain an afterlife once they shift contexts, such as from a personal, private space (domestic) to a public space (a museum). Objects, as they proceed through lives,

change, fragment, are re-appropriated and consumed, reused, lost, destroyed, reborn. And once reclaimed, objects are reinterpreted and recontextualised. In this way, objects are re-purposed (especially within cultural and museological institutions). Cultural significance is imbued in the object, across time and space by those doing the interpreting. It can be challenging for biographical researchers to contextualise an object's history, as external forces – contemporaneous cultural, sociological, political, economic, historic events – can influence the interpreter's understanding of the thing. The object is imbued with second, third, fourth biographies once placed in a museum collection. Other researchers, depending on their training, background and perspective will tell other stories. The object becomes laden with these narratives, 'heavy with consequence' (Crooke, unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013).

This afterlife is influenced by discourses of continuity when constructing a biography of an object. The resonance of objects, because they have come to us via inheritance, or we have found, reclaimed, or associated them with a moment in time (such as an event) and invested in them our own memories, is often lost when they are removed from a contextualized environment, that is, in the instance from personal possession to museum collection. I repeat Elizabeth Abel's quote, that objects can become 'materialized memory' (unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013) to reinforce the argument. Very often the presence of an artefact hides an absence. Dispossessed things lapse 'into oblivion with every extinguished life…', especially if they are no longer useful (Abel, unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013). Abel proposed the idea that if we grant an object a life, do we grant it a death? Tom Scott-Smith expanded on

this when he asked how do we give meaning to objects we are not attached to, or owned by people we have no connection to (unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013). This question has implications for this research into the life of the man I did not and could not meet in the process of the research (Tynan) and the fact that the objects I studied are in two museums, removed from original contexts. How things maintain personal resonance when moved from one context to another is alternately an intangible and rich vein of thinking to consider throughout this thesis.

Some objects' histories are altered beyond recognition, their meaning shifting and changing irrevocably; they can be resistant to interpretation, or their histories lost forever. Other objects are alienated by time, distance and values from their originating culture. The fact that the objects I studied worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed are housed in museum collections, indicates that they could easily slide into the spaces between time and place, losing identity and biography along the way. Detailed narrative analysis, working with methods proposed in my research framework, is one way of arresting this loss.

Academics and life-writing practitioners have explored this uneasy history for many objects, including Neil MacGregor, art historian and curator. In his key note lecture at *The Lives of Objects* conference, he described how objects are stubborn, unpredictable and uncontrollable, but also actors and agents of change. He examined the theme of change and our understanding of how objects are repurposed, given revisionist histories and reinterpreted, and collecting practices reimagined. He stated that 'there is no limit to the power of objects to shape us as much as we shape them' (unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*:

2013). These continuing narratives and re-purposing reveals how objects can have, as Kopytoff described, multiple lives. Biographies, he stated, are totally unpredictable – people make them as they require them.

I now critique what I perceive of as the loss inherent in ignoring the materiality of the subject's clothing. Some objects are used for purposes beyond their intended original purpose, or assimilated into other people's biographies and narratives due to similarity in production or appearance. They get, in effect, "lost" in the biographer's personal narrative. Biographer Paula Byrne wrote *The Real Jane Austen: a life in small things* in 2014. The life-story takes on a non-chronological format, each chapter introducing a theme running through Austen's life. Chapters are introduced through a material object amplifying the narrative explored. Byrne described how the objects, some of which were owned by Austen, were portals through which to expand her chosen themes, another tool with which to illuminate a subject's world (Oxford, 2014). But, she chose not to use an extant fashion garment once worn by the author (a pelisse in the Hampshire Council collection), so as to avoid the cliché of the author as a frivolous Regency character (Oxford, 2014). Byrne also used objects that were unrelated to Austen's personal world to highlight her points, and what things she did analyse were not explored for their material properties. I argue this was problematic, not only from a methodological perspective, but from the continuing perception of fashion not being seen as a legitimate tool with which to "read" a life. Methodologically, I assert this lessened the impact of Byrne's research outcomes.

This cautionary note highlighted the need for me to be wary of how I analysed and interpreted these men's clothes within the context of collections in muse-

ums. Tynan's clothes are unlikely to be mistaken for anyone else's, given the facts contained in the Museum's registry files. They are unlikely to be mistaken for anything else, given their accepted form as masculine attire. But their biographies are open to interpretation, and misinterpretation, without a strong awareness of my sense of modulated believing, and respect for them as things. Otherwise, we can lose sight of why these objects are written about or in museum collections at all.

3.5 Scepticism, truth and dropping hints

This section explores fundamental issues facing the practice of researching a person's life-story: truth, empathy and criticality.[5] It also expands my notion of modulated believing as a tool with which to interrogate truth about a life. A life-story, especially about someone from the past, is an act of sifting through anecdotes, myths and legends to uncover some semblance of what is likely to have happened. Corroborated "truth" disappears when subjects and witnesses choose not to reveal. Evidence vanishes when people die, and close relatives remember facts about the life differently, or manufacture alternative "readings" of the deceased's life.[6] Lee sees current biographical practice reflecting 'the continual recurrence, in different contexts, of the same questions of definition, value, and purpose' (2009: xiii).

What is the biographer to do when the trajectory of a person's life is clouded in

[5] Frank has written on empathy and biographical interpretation, and the desirability of biographers to retain a sense of empathic responsiveness to a subject's own interpretation of their own life (1985).

[6] See Grassby, 2005: 599 on the speculative nature of "reading" inanimate objects.

mysteries and a lack of documentation? Woolf's advice: 'Our simple duty is to state the facts as far as they are known, and so let the reader make of them what he may' (1928: 31). As social anthropologist Alfred Gell stated, objects have histories, not dates (1996: 28). And psychologist Jerome Bruner noted, 'The past is a reconstruction rather than a recovery' (1983: 5). Interrogating these ideas, someone's life-story and the biography of the objects they surround themselves with can never be captured completely, let alone by one biographer. Day-to-day realities are seldom caught in a formal manner that captures all nuance and perspectives of the events. F. Scott Fitzgerald describes how 'a life always proceeds at several rhythms and at several speeds' (in Deleuze and Guattari, 1983: 72). What the biographer chooses to outline, privilege and reveal of these daily rhythms is based on their personal empathy, taste, values, beliefs, ethnicity, gender, nationality, socio-economic and cultural background, language, education and history, influencing the position they research and write from. Ultimately, Lee suggests our human-ness as biographers is essential to confront: 'you write the book that your nature inclines you toward. You write the book that your education, your temperament, your training, your class, your race, your gender, your nationality incline you toward. You can't write a book as another person' (at Thomas, *The Paris Review* website, 2013). As noted in the introduction, these factors influence the biographer's perspectives, research and writing.

Bourdieu, writing on 'The uses of people' from *In Other Words* (1990: 150-155) considers how construction of opinion and belief amongst the wider population in areas such as the political sphere is created through the lens of the people doing the manipulation: their class, ethnicity, gender and background influences

how they perceive other people. Inglis describes how perspective is ideologically loaded: 'We have therefore to be very attuned to how our own constructions of "everyday life" and "culture" reflect our own biases, likes and dislikes, and attitudes' (Inglis, 2005: 18). From another perspective, Phillips described how a single interpretation of a life is problematic, especially given the biographer's affinity and intimacy with the subject, which can either reduce, or increase, interpretive powers (Wolfson College lecture, 2016. See also Lee, 2009: 12; Edel in Caine, 2010: 87). The autobiographical nature of writing biography means practitioners need to be mindful of what, and empathetic towards how, they present a life. This urges a balance between becoming actively involved in one's subject, and maintaining objective, critical distance.

Making the capturing of memory even more challenging and enriching, beyond its inherent vulnerability and our selectiveness, Phillips stated that broken stories – the gaps in memory and information – are what they are; leaving them be is advisable (Wolfson College lecture, 2016). They can also be, as Woolf described them, the moments of 'non-being' in a life, where not much happens (in Schulkind, 1976 [1989]: 79. See also Strohm, 2014). These "spaces" in a life open it up for interpretation, making a creative place where the reader of a biography or viewer of an exhibition can create narratives in their own minds. In the interests of this research, the times when "nothing much" is happening in a life is often ripe with narrative. Tynan, Strong and Reed were wearing clothes during "quiet" periods in their lives. The garments, like Strong's Next blouson, continued to accrue evidence of living, through wear and tear and material change. These elements reinforce the use of "modulated believing" of the material evidence of

someone's life and critical approaches to interpretation. Scepticism and care are useful tools when constructing a life-story.

It is the everydayness of many of these men's clothes, and those moments in-between the big life events, that led me to analyse how studying the biographies of these objects can enhance these men's life-stories.

3.6 The everyday object and biography

Clothes as objects are worn every day by a majority of people in different cultures. As described in the introduction of this thesis, when I refer to the everyday garment, I refer to the high street and designer menswear garment equally, worn regularly and for everyday events. Tynan and Strong mixed expensive with inexpensive clothing, a conjunction of striking items; Reed focused solely on wearing designer clothing. The everyday for these men was not about blending in with the crowd. This section interrogates the everyday, establishing the relevance of an understanding of the everyday object as a protagonist in the life of the subject, while highlighting the importance of rigorous analysis of the materiality of clothing worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed in augmenting existing knowledge of their lives.

To establish and contextualize the everyday object in this thesis, I analyzed a suit that Reed regularly wore from the mid-1990s until well in to the 2000s. The ensemble is presented as an example that, even as high-end designer menswear, was, for Reed, an everyday choice: the following narrative builds a biography of a regularly worn suit. Reed's memories and associations with the ensemble both

complicate the idea of the quotidian (something that is designer menswear, and expensive) and the everyday in its regularity of use.

Comme des Garçons deep navy suit (embroidery detail) (V&A.T:46.1-3 – 2011)

Reed bought this navy wool two-piece suit and a resist-dye tie around 1993-4. He wore it for a decade. 'I just really loved this suit. It's one of those things I would have worn on a day-to-day basis, in the morning, whatever I'm doing, going around town, meeting up with people, just going to the shops. I just felt so good wearing this suit' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). He remembers it may have been purchased from the Browns sale store, when they had a CdG shop, which would likely make the purchase around January 1994 if it was from the autumn/winter collection. He also remembers the expense: 'well, Comme is expensive… £300 for a pair of trousers…' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). He recollects purchasing a series of CdG suits over successive seasons, ending up with four or five. This sense of "collecting" or gradual amassing one designer's work is evident in Reed's approach to a number of designers, including Gaultier and Yohji Yamamoto (to be discussed further in chapter four).

Reed remembers hearing about CdG through reports in magazines like *Uomo Collezioni* and *GQ*. In 1993 *The Sunday Times* newspaper described how Japanese designer Rei Kawakubo had ignored conventions regarding tailoring and fit, presenting clothes cut on the bias that had been dip-dyed and washed after production, creating shapeless silhouettes (Mills, 1993: n.p.). Reed perceived, given the information he was reading, that the pieces were rare, with only a few produced

Figure 3.10: CdG navy wool two-piece suit: jacket (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 16/07/14)

of each design. This perception of rarity made him decide 'I've got to have some! I became a big, big fan of Comme des Garçons. I even met her, Rei Kawakubo, when Browns revamped the shop in London [at the opening for the refitted store]' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). In deference to the designer, Reed wore CdG to the opening, but he was never sure one should do that with designers as it looked so obvious (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). This again reflects the "shy show-off" behaviours Reed displayed and described in oral testimony interviews.

What he found most appealing about the CdG suit was the fit – the high-waisted, front-pleated trousers, the fall of the jacket. 'The thing just hung from the shoulder and waist… effortless to wear' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). He also liked the machine-embroidered colourful ribbon on the left rever, the way the wool gabardine fabric draped, and the deep pockets to hold keys and wallet. The suit is likely to have been sold as separates, but, through comparative analysis it is clear the jacket and trouser material are the same. Reed remembers that, as it was in a sale, there may have been less selection to choose from, but he felt the colourful detail on the rever 'was just enough – it's interesting – it was certainly fashionable. My first foray into a very particular style of Japanese dressing' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15).

The jacket is currently stored as a one-button shape ("cut to roll" to the bottom button, which sits at the natural waistline), but there are two higher button holes Reed sometimes used to button in different ways. He remembers wearing this suit once a week, or every other week. It was suitable for formal and informal occasions. Living in London, this would have been a suit to wear for com-

fort 'rather than strapping myself into Gaultier or Westwood' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). He felt so comfortable in this suit that he bought another in a similar style: 'I just think I loved that [the navy suit] so much… sometimes you gel with something that is just so comfortable and easy to wear. I just thought I looked so good in that' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15).

The trousers, size medium, are a "classic" CdG shape, with deep rise, high "grown in" waist, plenty of material at the thigh, and narrowing to a slender ankle turn-up. The belt would thread through the pleats.[7] The "French bearer" at the zip opening maintains a flat appearance across the stomach and takes much of the strain from the waist button. Even though Reed was slender, he sometimes purchased a size up (occasionally a large), because he felt the generously-cut silhouette was more fashionable. Measurements across the thigh (35cm when flat) suggest the trousers were voluminous when moving. There are small stain spots on the front of the trousers, around the pocket area. The CdG trousers 'were, in many ways, more flattering.… They hid a multitude of sins if you didn't go to the gym [or] have that perfect body' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). Again, it is useful to review this sense of masculinities described in chapter one in terms of prescribed physicality, rather than reality. Reed looked good in a suit "with a difference" (as per Bourdieu's theory).

Pieces of everyday material culture have proven invaluable in testing the thesis of this research. Reed wore a classic white CdG shirt with a small collar with the suit (he still has it, the first shirt he purchased from the brand). He wore the shoes that went with the collection, plimsolls with a flat leather sole. He remembers

[7] Reed believes he may have purchased at the time of purchase a narrow belt with this suit, again reflecting a desire for a "complete" ensemble.

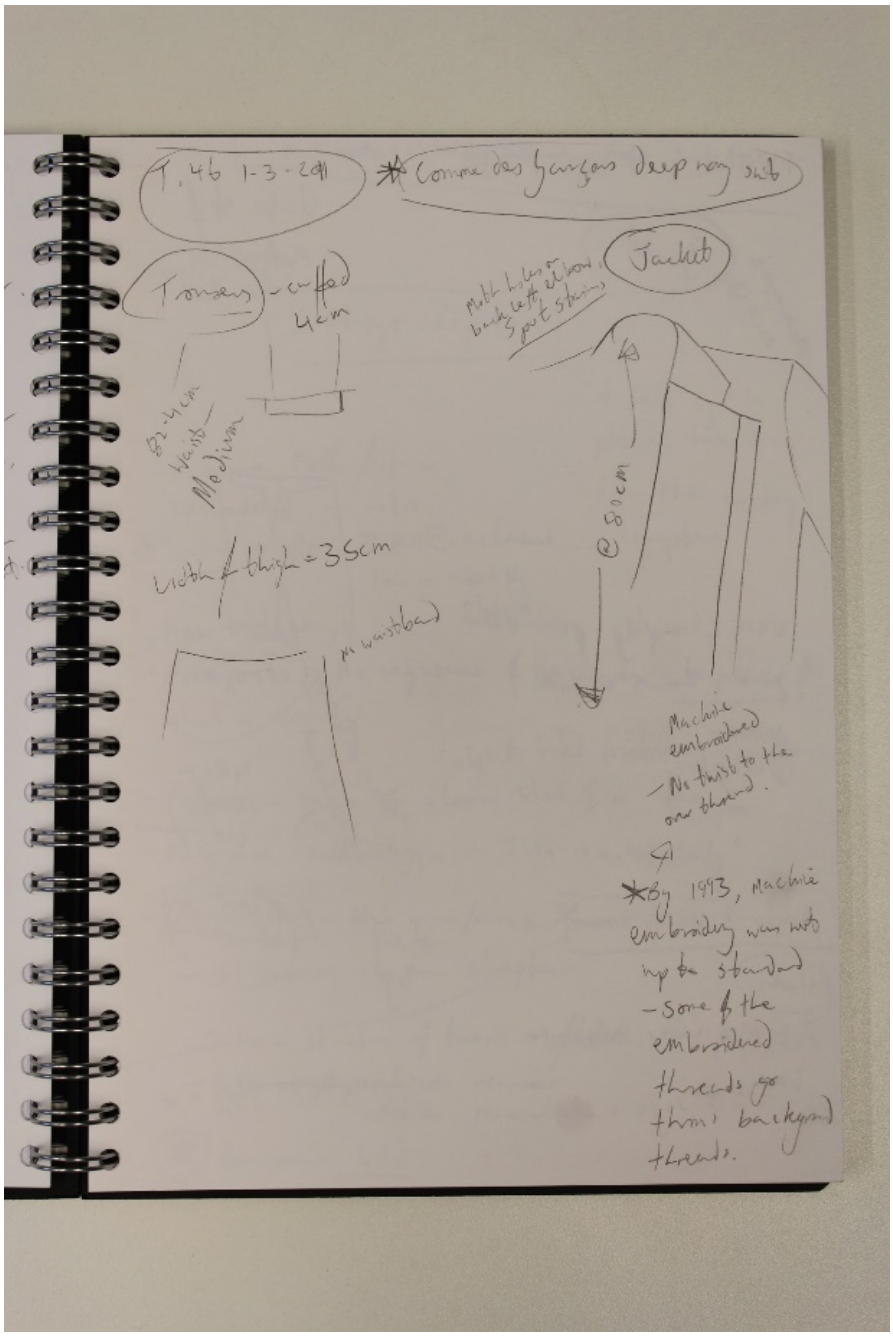


Figure 3.11: Author's notebook. CdG suit, MCA analysis (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 27/04/18)

they were made of coarse black suede and rapidly wore out: 'I really did wear them until they just fell to pieces' (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). It is productive to analyse Rochberg-Halton's theory on the meanings of everyday objects. He states: 'objects can objectify the self. In objectively telling us who we are, what we do, and who and what we might become, things can act as signs of the self, and role models for its continued cultivation' (Rochberg-Halton, 1984: 339). He refers to cultivation as a 'web of meaning', an 'active process of interpretation reciprocally requiring care and inquiry, and endowing one in return with the broader perspective of community life' (1984: 344). It is his belief in the inherent qualities of objects that is of most interest to my research:

> It must be stressed that artifacts [sic] in a certain sense do have a purpose of their own. Objects have a definite character or inherent quality that will have an influence on the possessor, and that is realized through the transaction of person and thing.… Through our transactions with these things we cultivate the self, and these things are representations of the self, just as the words one utters or the thoughts and emotions one has are representations of the self. Transactions with cherished possessions are communicative dialogues with ourselves (1984: 346-7).

When we look at an item, such as a coat made of fur to signify luxury and exclusivity, or a common, everyday object like a pair of cotton denim jeans, they are imbued with cultural codes and signifiers. But personal life experience, as Rochberg-Halton has suggested, means the wearer will imbue each object, regardless of these cultural codes, with idiosyncratic significance. In my research I reflected on the material culture of the everyday. Even though Reed's CdG suit is out of the financial reach of most people, to him it was his everyday experience to wear designer menswear; hence, my analysis of an expensive suit as an ensemble that was worn often, for him to go about his daily life in. I confirmed a sense of

Figure 3.12: CdG navy wool two-piece suit: detail of grown-in trouser waist (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 16/07/14)

meaning in the existence of this ensemble to Reed, how meaning was invested in it by him, and by me as biographical researcher, and potentially in the future, the reader of a life-story or the viewer of an exhibition. His memories of his clothes greatly informed my analysis of his life-story. It is these types of everyday, subtle memories associated with objects worn by Tynan, Strong and Reed that I explore in the next section, to analyse the influence it has on our perception of the clothes we wear, and interrogating how it inevitably influences biographical research.

3.7 Memory, remembering, death and biography

Through my research process, it became clear that reflection on death and memory, as much as death and the object (analysed in chapter two) was important to position my responses to Tynan's clothing. This section reflects on loss, remembering and mis-remembering the dead, and their objects such as clothing. It also analyses theory on memories of the dressed appearance. This section outlines how memory is remembered, critically analysed and utilised in research. Academics and practitioners have explored the role of memory (Bal et al., 1999; Kwint et al., 1999; Radstone, 2000; Weber and Mitchell, 2004; Jefferies, 2007: Gibson, M., 2008; Gibson, R., 2015; Chong Kwan, 2016; Bide, 2017) so it is necessary only to refer to themes pertinent to this thesis. Our socio-cultural perspectives influence how we approach, critique and use memory in our daily lives, in research, and in our approaches to the study of collective and cultural memory (Ben-Amos et al., 1999) as life-writers and fashion curators. For the purposes of this thesis, I have prioritised theory around personal memory rather than collective or cultural perspectives, reflecting my points of reference, rather than a psy-

choanalytical approach. The memory that I am most interested in is imprinted in the cloth of worn clothing. I interrogate the importance of using these memories in biographical research, exploring objects like Tynan's travelling coat as an example to analyse the effectiveness of the process.

Faux-fur collar travelling coat T.490.1995

This pale khaki wool, knee-length gabardine coat with dark caramel faux-fur collar dates from the 1950s or '60s. This is the type of coat that would have been ordered in small batches from independent retailers in the UK during the mid-20th century. The manufacture of the garment is very high: as Cannon-Jones noted, similar to the standard of British companies like Burberry and Dunhill (tutorial, Clothworker's Centre, 07/09/16). It is similar in style and shape to a driving coat. It has a knitted faux-fur lining, likely to be a material called Borg (with the appearance of sheep fur). The gabardine may be a ventile weave (loosely spun to allow it to swell in wet weather, but tightly woven), breathable and showerproof. At the left breast is a deep pocket with a vertical opening. There is wear and tear to the garment. The stitching at the top button hole is unravelling. The welt on the right pocket is coming away. The bottom plastic button on the front panel has been replaced. There are stains on the front of the coat and the inside lining in various places and there is moth damage on the arms, at the hem and the front panels. All indicate Tynan used this coat regularly, over a sustained period of time.

Figure 3.13: Khaki wool gaberdine coat with faux-fur collar, 1950s-60s (collar detail) (accessed at the Clothworker's Centre, 15/01/14)

Is this coat that Tynan is wearing T.490.1995? With only a grainy black and white screenshot of a documentary titled 'Forty Years of Fuck on British Television' to analyse, it is difficult to confirm. It appears to have the same collar shape (at least in the collar element of the coat), and the faux-fur appears to be a similar tuft length. The rever appears also to be covered in faux-fur, indicating that this is probably the same coat. Note that Tynan is wearing a shirt and tie, with a haircut styled close to the head. The coat is captured in a socio-cultural context of a television programme that positions Tynan as a controversial figure in British culture of the 20th century.

Figure 3.14: *Forty Years of Fuck on British Television*
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oceKoVcf5zw
Accessed 07/03/17

In the left pocket is a St. Regis Sheraton Hotel, New York, bill for a room, tax surcharges, and what can be presumed to be food at a hotel restaurant for the 03, 04 and 05 March 1980. This places Tynan in New York, four months before his death. A note states the charge would be paid by the accounts department at Simon and Schuster, 1230 Avenue of the Americas. The bill, and the American health insurance card in the Prince Gardner wallet (see chapter two), prove that Tynan still received the support of his employers up to the time of his death. It is poignant evidence of employers' belief in Tynan's talent and professionalism that they would continue to do so. And that he was still believing that he could earn his living writing for publications, despite a documented case of writer's block (Tynan, 1987 [1988]: 391).

The hotel bill proves the coat, purchased in the 1950s or '60s, was worn by Tynan to the end of his life. It also corroborates the idea that Tynan was wearing his clothes for much longer than earlier assumed. This commitment to his clothes, the wearing even in a slightly dishevelled state through regular wear, contributes to our analysis and understanding of his personality. He showed commitment in his life but chose carefully who and what he showed it to. But, his clothes were cared for and often repaired – the Nutter jacket on at least two occasions. Even in a state where repairs and damage were obvious, he continued to wear them. A number of assumptions can be made, or at least possible interpretations: poverty (not being able to afford repairs and needing to wear the same clothes for longer); having no time, or inclination, to fix the damage; wearing clothes for long periods of time, with little interest in what was fashionable menswear; and a commitment to caring for the things (if not always the people) he lived with. This coat

poses enticing questions that are corroborated by object-based analysis and enhanced my understanding of Tynan's approach to life: a snob about people, but not about clothes; staying in expensive hotels; prepared to purchase good quality garments and repair them, or continue wearing them in a disheveled state. This suggests a complicated personality, but one prepared to care for selected things for a long period of time. It also reflects an object that became materialized memory through being cared for in a museum collection, and analysed by me.

Tynan died in 1980. The loss or death of someone impacts on our "relationship" to the material objects left behind. Reflection on this is important when considering Tynan's worn clothing, and my interpretation of them for this research. The objects are, in a way, released from ownership, to be "owned" or collected by relatives, or in museum collections. The latter situation offers opportunities for researchers like me to analyse. They become "pieces" or objects, rather than personal things used or worn by someone. Stallybrass has explored material culture and materiality within a personal context of loss. He describes the coming and going of mortal bodies, and the clothing worn by the deceased remaining behind: torn, damaged, soiled, and yet a physical manifestation of memories of lives lived. Gibson continues this thread of thought when describing the impact of clothing on our understanding of someone's life after death (2008). She notes, in oral testimony research into death and material culture, that interviewees focused their grief on objects of the deceased, particularly photographs and clothing. Certain objects, like household items (such as kitchen utensils, televisions, radios) were not commonly associated with feelings of attachment, specific stories or memories: clothes were a different matter (Gibson, 2008: 4). Turkle describes a psycho-

analytical perspective on loss: 'For Freud, when we lose a beloved person or object, we begin a process that, if successful, ends in our finding them again, within us. It is, in fact how we grow and develop as people. *When objects are lost, subjects are found*' (Turkle, 2007: 9-10). Objects offer access to archives of memory, recollected through lived experience and between the making, and the recapturing, of memory.

Photographs of someone seldom reflect the impact of understanding of their lives lived in clothing, whereas the material clothing, imprinted with 'the shape, size and odour of the lived body… has a power of immediacy that photographs perhaps lack' (Gibson, 2008: 111). But photographs and clothes owned and worn by the deceased are two types of things people are least likely to give away. This is confirmed by writer and essayist Joan Didion (2012), when she acknowledged her inability to give away her dead husband's clothing, the magnetic pull towards objects retaining the memories, symbolic or otherwise, of that person, and their tangible, physical memories (see also Gibson, R., 2015: 18).

The difference between three-dimensional, textural clothing that has been moulded to a human body and a two-dimensional photograph obviously makes a difference when "reading" their materiality. De la Haye, Taylor and Thompson (2005) amplify this idea when they state that the materiality of clothing is altered beyond its intended construction by the wearer; that we imprint our clothing through wearing: clothes 'can become imbued with personal scent and bear the marks of wear, from fabric erosion at hem, cuffs and neck to stains that are absorbed or linger on the surface of the cloth' (2005: 22). It can be argued that when examining clothing more senses are utilised, and memories created and imbued in the

object when associated with someone. The odour of a relative's clothing once they have died, their DNA embedded within the cloth, seeing images of them in the garment, and touching the objects 'may be more effective in momentarily (although never entirely) bridging the space-time separation that distances the living from the dead' than an image alone (Gibson, 2008: 111). There is a sense of the impact the physicality of an object like a item of clothing can have on our understanding, and memories, of the wearer and how memory is entangled in our "reading" of the thing itself. For instance, Tynan's clothing has been invested with meaning by numerous people: his family and friends (mourning their loss); the public viewer (making sense of this person through viewing their clothing); museum curators and conservators (protecting and contextualising the objects); and researchers (re-contextualising and interpreting objects and constructing narratives). How these participants' memories feeds into the life-narrative of the deceased is examined in chapter four.

The power of our clothing as materializing memory has been written about and analysed by many authors. Gibson captured in her research on mourning and materiality, the very real sense that objects take on symbolic meanings as much, if not more so, when someone dies than when they were alive.

> When a loved one dies, suddenly their personal belongings and defining possessions come to the foreground of consciousness – they are *truly noticed*. This noticing is complex and often poignant. Death reconstructs our experience of personal and household objects in particular ways; there is the strangeness of realising that *things* have outlived *persons*, and, in this regard, the materiality of things is shown to be more permanent than the materiality of the body (Gibson, 2008: 1).

The fact that objects, even those constructed from seemingly fragile fibres like

fabric clothes, can outlast the life of the owner, is significant. Gibson notes, '…for those who outlive a loved one, the objects that remain are significant memory traces and offer a point of connection with the absent body of the deceased' (Gibson, 2008: 2; see Gibson, R., 2015). Gibson describes how we hold on to the deceased through the objects they owned, surrounded themselves by, and wore (2008: 3). Museologist Professor Elizabeth Crooke's research undertaken with family members of deceased victims of the Bloody Sunday event (Northern Ireland, 1972) explored the idea of an object taking on a melancholic symbolism, laden with emotional value and meaning (unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013). Her oral history work with these family members, as well as working with the clothing worn by their relatives at the time of their death, brought forth her suggestion that the encoding and production of meanings, through the everyday garments, acted as a means to organise experience, and added permanence to the relationships with their dead relatives. As described earlier, Crooke described the life-stories of the deceased's artefacts as 'heavy with consequence' (unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013). Clothing carries emotionally charged and symbolic connections and meaning that can weigh it down, given it is often impregnated with the smell, sweat, the "memory" of the material (the physical impact the body has on cloth in the creases and shapes formed through wearing), and in the case of some objects Crooke was working with, blood. Working within the boundaries of the museum, where objects can be shared in a public space, she described how objects are intimately related to the self. In this case, the human beings who wore these garments did not survive to tell their tales; only the clothes remained to bear witness to the events. I reinforce the sense of the memory of cloth found in its materiality – the

indentation of the body, and the indentations left in the mind, heavy, as Crooke described, with consequence once someone has died. This narrative is critical to this thesis and threads its way throughout my research.

Touch, memory, and bodily actions form attachments, establish dependencies with objects which blossom 'into trees and forests of connections and meanings' (Amato, 2013: 37). As Gibson suggests, these objects take on another "life", profoundly connected to memories of ourselves and others in death. These connections are often more profound, but are usually unarticulated and hidden (Gibson, 2008: 10-11). As previously noted, Tracy's perceptions of her father's clothing was affected by the record of materiality evidenced in the garments. She was compelled to renegotiate her relationship to these objects once I had pointed out elements of Tynan's dressing that she had never been aware of (such as the amount of damage, repair and use on many of the garments).

Stallybrass has explored material culture and materiality within a personal context of loss. His article 'Worn Worlds: clothes, mourning and the life of things' has greatly influenced this research. In it, he describes the death of a friend. On being gifted one of the deceased's jackets, he formulated ideas on the power of objects to symbolically and reflect a life lived. As he states

> The magic of cloth, I came to believe, is that it receives us: receives our smells, our sweat, our shape even. And when our parents, our friends, our lovers die, the clothes in their closets still hang there, holding their gestures, both reassuring and terrifying, touching the living with the dead.…' (Stallybrass, 1999: 28).

He describes the "memory" of cloth, referring to the marks and wrinkles left from a body wearing clothing. This is a symbolically rich mine to source for al-

lusions to the memory of a life, past and present. It is this palpable, physical evidence of a life lived within the garments of Tynan, Strong and Reed which has been important to reflect on during my research.

It is important to note that memories are often clouded by what objects remain of someone's life, and peoples' perceptions of what truth is, or was (depending on the timeframes of when they, or their biographers, captured the memories, analysed them, and crafted a narrative from them) of the things that remain. It is important to remember that, in the practice of telling the story of someone else's life, even if you have evidence to disprove the timing, outcomes or impact of a life event, it is also as important to respect the person's right to remember, and mis-remember, that event of their own life in their own way (See Lee, at Thomas, 2012: website; Phillips, Wolfson College lecture, 2016). This is part of the "modulated believing" that forms a central element of my research practice: recognising mis-remembering, acknowledging it, and accepting it.

Memories start from the self, and either remain that way, are studied and analysed by oneself or an external person, or become part of a wider form of collective memory. Saint Augustine reflected on the importance of memory to his depiction of himself in *Confessions* as the 'container of his experiences'; 'the "vast cloisters" of memory where he "meets himself"' (Anderson, 2005: 21). Annette Kuhn notes how 'the past is unavoidably rewritten, revised, through memory; and memory is partial: things get forgotten, misremembered, repressed' (in Radstone, 2000: 184). The memory of meaning changes at different times, but 'memories… continue to be memories' (Radstone, 2000: 11); they continue to exist and mis-remembered if recorded in some way, as a form of proof of lives lived.

Miller views memories as artefacts in themselves (2008: 87). How they are interpreted, given the socio-cultural perspectives we apply to them when analysing them, is another matter. I argue that clothing presents a stable route through the malleable nature of memory. Materiality of cloth is evidence that something has happened. In this way, the memories, and the materiality on the surface of Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothes, becomes a kind of recollection.

Professor Hugh Haughton questioned, when he described the imprint of a leaf left on the paper that a letter was written on, how much room for memory can an object have (unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*: 2013)? In the same way, I interrogated the imprint of memory on objects like Tynan's faux fur travelling coat. It literally and physically become physically impressed by history, the degradation of the threads and stains and moth damage on the cloth telling their own stories for the researcher to interrogate. This after-life of a life, I argue, becomes the materiality of memory. This suggests the potentially *limited*, and *limitless*, meaning and significance objects can be imbued with by us: the wearer and the biographical researcher.

Exploring philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's theory of rhizomes is productive to the conversation around memory, particularly when reviewing oral testimony with Strong, Reed and Tracy Tynan. Delueze and Guattari described how memory is multiple and endless, composed of rhizomes or trails of ideas and threads of information and moments. Memory is made up of a series of plateaus of information and ideas, each threading and winding through a narrative. Deleuze and Guattari described these plateaus as places of beginning; in other words, memories can be picked up anywhere at any point in time

and finished at any point. Memories are not fixed, nor are they punctual (logical or sequential, ordered and systematic); they can be read (remembered) in different ways, and from multiple entry points. This is an anti-historical, anti-chronological approach to memory, but it reflects a truer nature of it: ethereal, endless, connecting and joining at neither beginning nor end, moving between points, coming and going whenever and wherever. The rhizome is, as Deleuze and Guattari describe it, a conjunction: those intermediary thoughts and ideas that carry a thought and idea forward ('"and… and… and"' [1980: 26]). This was reflected in the ephemeral, non-chronological memories Reed and Strong revealed in oral testimony.

Memories are time-compressed, psychological representations of an event – they are not like a photograph, film or sound recording of that event. Because of this, a memory is a fragment, a sample, and not a full or literal record (Conway, *The Stuff of Memory*: 2015). Cognitive Psychologist Professor Martin Conway suggests they are more like paintings, focus fading in and out on different parts of the image each time you view it, or remember it; it does not record. The more specific the memory, the greater the chance of error and false memories: 'Memories often contain information that is non-consciously inferred by the brain, and sometimes consciously inferred, such as dates, clothes worn, weather…' (Conway, unpublished conference paper, *The Stuff of Memory*: 2015). I had to consider this when reviewing and analyzing Strong and Reed's testimony, particularly when I noted discrepancies in facts, such as the length of time Strong wore garments. Memories, then, are unreliable witnesses, in Conway's definitions similar to an artists' impression, susceptible to suggestion and occasionally dogmatic

and stubborn in a "version" of events.

Given Haughton's descriptions of the imprint of memory, I accepted that these subjects imbued the clothes they wore with physical memory. This affected my perceptions of what, where and how they wore things (with what accessories, colours, textures, a favourite t-shirt). Heike Jenss states how memory is imbued in fashion (2015:1). Memory and fashion are practices that are 'material, embodied, enacted' (Jenss, 2015: 8). She describes how there is an active relationship between clothing and the body: 'This is nowhere more evident than in the material culture of clothing, which imprints itself in all its materiality on the human body, molding its physical shape, affecting corporeality or subjectivity, and the embodiment of dress and style through the wearer' (Jenss, 2015: 7). The final sections of this chapter explores material memory, as I analyse Strong and Reed's memories through their clothes.

3.8 Fashioning memory: Strong

In this section, I interrogate the memories Strong held of his clothing, and how this impacted my perceptions of masculine identities and dress. Much biographical textual information regarding Strong was sourced from his and Trevelyan Oman's scrapbooks. The books themselves are material objects describing their life together (not analysed for the purpose of this thesis). They show Strong's metamorphosis through the British class system, from working class North London, to the director of two national museums; from journalist, to arts consultant, gardener and author. He did not have the associated social status these jobs had

previously expected (he did not have an independent income, for example). His diaries record that his rise through the social strata was uncomfortable for some, going by responses by museum directors like John Pope-Hennessy (Strong, 1997: 117). The scrapbooks proved invaluable in contextualizing Strong's life, through the imagery recording what he was wearing, sometimes on a daily basis, through a period of 40 years. Many of the pages have handwritten dates and brief descriptors of events. The scrapbooks themselves are divided into months within a year, or a very specific timeframe. Through this process, the books reflect Strong's and Trevelyan Oman's perspective on their lives, and what they chose to include or not include (see immateriality, chapter two). What is not in these scrapbooks? What did Strong include from these scrapbooks in his published diaries? What has been edited out, for personal or public (usually legal) reasons? Personal diaries and scrapbooks are not often made public through publishing. Does someone have this in mind when they are writing them? What did Strong choose or choose not to keep, record, and archive about his life and make public in the published diaries covering the years 1967-1997, his early life as a child, teenager, student at Queen Mary University and the Warburg Institute, and career at the National Portrait Gallery and V&A. The immaterial, i.e. the absence of material object, is as influential as the material in analyzing the remnants, framing the questions, and fashioning the history, of someone's life.

What Strong chose to keep in the scrapbooks were images of an ensemble that regularly featured, in visual evidence of him in various places: a Versace leather blouson, with Principles grey trousers.

Gianni Versace leather blouson and Principles grey patterned corduroy trousers (BATMC 2006.251.379A and B)

At a lunch at the Savoy restaurant in London hosted by *Country Life* magazine on 01 October 1993, Strong was asked what the most covetable item was that he had recently purchased: he stated his Versace leather blouson (2016: 92). He was aware of the impact a Gianni Versace leather blouson, matched with a pair of Principles grey patterned corduroy trousers had on the viewer, with its broad-shouldered, voluminous and fashionable silhouette. He was photographed on 24 February 1993 by Antony Armstrong-Jones (professionally known as Snowdon) for *L'Uomo Vogue* wearing this ensemble (see figure 3.2). It is a casual, stylish silhouette. The use of leather material and structure is influenced by the classic black biker jacket, but features components that are atypical of the style, such as a shawl collar, deep raglan sleeves, softness of the fabric (rather than more practical, thicker material favoured in the "biker" jacket) and channel stitching creating a "ribbed" texture running down the edges of the front panels of the coat. Heavy zips and metal buttons, top-stitching and quilting decorate the smooth leather of the blouson. At the back waist a gathered concertina cinches the silhouette close to the body, emphasising a masculine V-shape torso. The trousers are velvet material and cut more fully at the thigh and tapering to the ankle, emphasizing the wide-shouldered effect. There is very little material damage to the blouson or trousers.

Strong has always been aware of the power of dress in others' perceptions of him, not only as an individual, but as a prominent figure in the society and arts sector of the UK. From important social events in London, to local public speaking in

Herefordshire, he has always dressed for the occasion. In 2004 he describes dressing for a speech day at Sutton Valence School, Maidstone: 'The great thing to do if you get landed with a speech day is to look interesting so I put on my Marc Jacobs pink suit. That'll stop the clock I thought and it did' (22 May 2004. Strong, unpublished diaries, 2004-2015). After the death of his wife, Strong reviewed his sense of fashionable attire, and chose to continue dressing fashionably and with style. No longer needing to compromise (as half of a married couple), as a widower he noted:

> Another glorious change is that you can dress your own style and not, as in my youth, your age. As a life-long dandy *manqué* I have no hesitation in purchasing garments which my parent's generation would have deemed not suitable at seventy, nor even at sixty or fifty come to that. Mark you there are boundaries. The exposure of acres of flesh is hardly likely to excite anyone. But, with a sharp eye as to what suits and what you can get away with you can strut as elegant mutton if not lamb (September 2005. Strong, unpublished diaries, 2004-2015).

Strong's published and unpublished diaries contain many references to his clothing, his style and how he was perceived, from the 1960s onwards. In *The Roy Strong Diaries 1967-1987* he described his donation to FMB of

> …the best suit I ever had made, in about 1970s, by Blades at the top of Savile Row. It was blue, double-breasted with six buttons, tightly waisted and with side vents seemingly to the armpits, very narrow sleeves and straight-cut trousers, just pre-flares coming in. With them went a black fedora hat from Herbert Johnson, a pair of glasses, a shirt and tie from Turnbull and Asser in raspberry ripple stripes and a pair of black shoes (Strong, 1997: 25).

These diaries also contain many descriptions by Strong of others' dress, especially at the private viewings of exhibitions such as the Cecil Beaton exhibition of 1968 (*Beaton Portraits: 1928-65*) (1997: 27). (This echoes Tynan's description of others'

Figure 3.15: BATMC 2006.251.379A and B Gianni Versace black leather "biker" blouson, Principles trousers (accessed FMB, 10/07/15)

dress in his writing.) Strong was also tracking in his diaries the shifting trends in menswear as he observed them. In 1987, at the opening of the Clore Gallery at the Tate Britain he expounded on the lack of originality of men's dressing by this time:

> Compared with twenty years ago I was struck by how few people looked extraordinary. Fashion now is so unimaginative. There was certainly an explosion of shoulders, the wider for women the better, and a great amount of beadwork and glitter in the art deco vein. Men are very dull these days. Timothy Clifford in a green velvet smoking-jacket with black frogging just looked a curiosity. The look otherwise is sharp and shiny with hair well gelled, shirt with a wing collar, and immaculate blacks, but no bizarre opulence compared with such a gathering ten or twenty years ago (01 April. Strong, 1997: 413).

His descriptions reveal his love of these experiences and his canny eye, trained in visual analysis through his studies in art history, in detailing others' clothing and the finer points of their accessories. Occasionally he noted if someone was not what he considered stylish or their clothes were looking over-used – again, perhaps an influence of Beaton, who was very quick to judge the clothes of others (Vickers, 1986).

Strong remembers, as his salary slowly increased over time from the 1960s that he was able to engage with the shopping experience more fully in London, dependent on fluctuations in income post-directorships. Starting from a salary of £750 at the NPG in the 1960s, he was able to visit The Button Queen store for cufflinks made with antique buttons and investigate the excitement of the King's Road and the Just Men brand (email correspondence with author, 27/01/18). This leather blouson was the most costly fashion item Strong purchased up to that point in time (oral testimony with the author, 25/09/15). When analyzing his

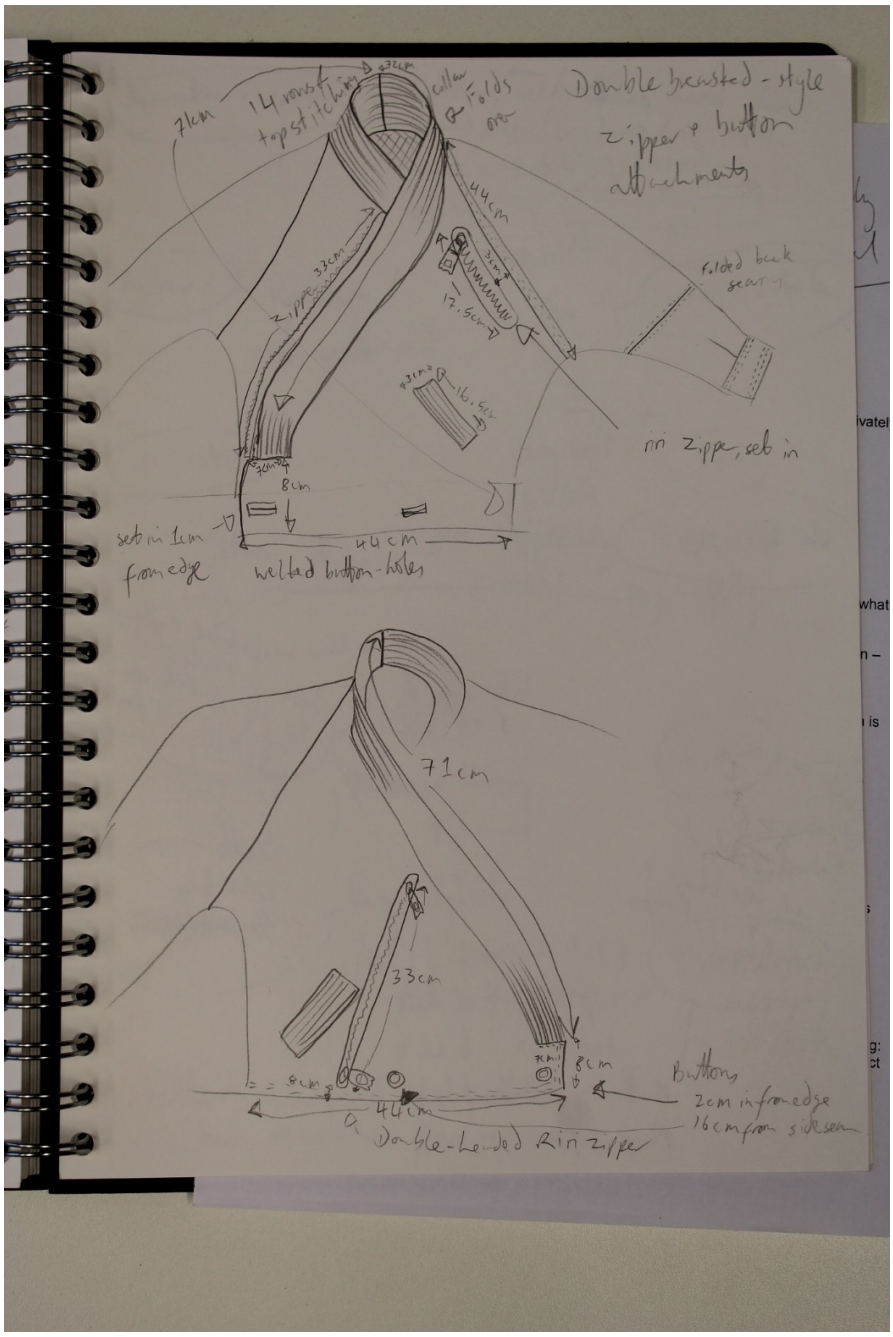


Figure 3.16: Author's notebook. Gianni Versace leather blouson, MCA analysis (accessed FMB, 09/06/17)

Figure 3.17: From the scrapbooks of Roy Strong and Julia Trevelyan Oman (scrapbook 'XXIX 1987: November - December', accessed 16/12/15)

testimony and correspondence, I was aware that many of these memories were now over 40 years old. Research into memory (described previously) warned me of the mercurial nature of memory. But, I was also reminded of the need to accept and value the memories of Strong, Reed and Tracy Tynan as evidence of their lives, or those of their loved ones.

By the 1980s Strong was working amongst London's social and cultural milieu of artists, creators, arts, museums and heritage professionals through his different professions (he published a number of books, newspaper articles and journal articles whilst director of both institutions). As described previously, the 1970s and '80s in the UK was a turbulent time of conservative political, economic, historical and socio-cultural expansion and retrenchment. Strong, never shy to make his

Figure 3.18: From the scrapbooks of Roy Strong and Julia Trevelyan Oman (scrapbook 'LVI 1993-1: March 09th to May 13th', accessed 27/01/16)

opinion known, stated that he was one of the first Thatcherite directors, forced to seek philanthropic investment after over a decade of funding cuts from central governments (both Conservative and Labour. Clines, 1987: n.p.). Living part-time in London and his increasing salaries continued to provide him access to a wide range of menswear – from Reiss to Adolfo Dominguez and Paul Smith – of which he readily took advantage. Post-directorships and living in the same building on Morpeth Terrace (but in a smaller flat), Strong remembers being able to shop at Zara on Victoria Street, which opened after his wife's death and which was useful for what he called his 'throw away' era of the mid-2000s (email correspondence with author, 27/01/18). It is evident, given the quantities of Zara clothing in the FMB collection (and the number of garments declined by the Museum), that Strong continued purchasing clothing throughout this time. He creatively mixed high-end designer wear with low-cost high street brands, forming multiple identities for private and public scenarios.

Strong had a vested interest in clothing, revealed in his interest in paying attention to fashionable trends, wearing original things like cufflinks from the Button Queen, and his dressing in fashionable menswear. The changing circumstances of menswear during the 1960s, the increasing availability, paralleled with the reduction in cost, of certain types of clothes, and his professional and museological insights into the importance of dress to describe socio-cultural histories (witnessed in the many interviews he gave to the media that I sourced in the scrapbooks), informed his perception, and memories, of his own dress. I continue by applying a similar approach to Reed's life, layering MCA of clothing with object-based research methods, as a way to further interrogate the effectiveness of my

proposed framework.

3.9 Reed: life-stories through clothes

In order to contextualise and test my hypothesis, I needed a person of whom little was known in the public realm (visual and literary ephemera, outputs such as exhibitions or books) in order to compare and contrast their lives to those of Tynan and Strong, of whom there is more textual information available for analysis. This section examines the practice of life-writing as a tool with which to contextualise and construct a biography of a garment, presenting research undertaken on the man whose life I used as a control measure to evaluate the success, or otherwise, of my aims: Reed. His wardrobe of clothing is spread across both the V&A and FMB (discussed in chapter four). There are small pockets of published textual information available in the public arena (see Gilhooley, 1999; Buck, 2000), and a few personal images Reed provided for this research offers the opportunity to construct a small "life timeline". Having presented a brief overview of his life in chapter one, this section more fully interrogates his wardrobe as a portal through which to view his construction of masculine identities. The aim is to offer biographical researchers a novel framework within which to couch questions regarding material culture biographies.

For Reed's life-story I primarily used oral testimony and MCA of his wardrobe with which to construct a brief but contextualizing overview of his life. It is by no means a complete or chronological narrative. As described previously, I allowed the testimony with him and garments analysed to dictate to a large extent

what was chosen for further analysis. It is difficult to verify many of these memories and recollections, because in part Reed's parents are deceased. I was unable to secure corroborative interviews with people, such as Keith Levett (tailor at Henry Poole and Company, who created eighteenth century replica garments for him) to augment and corroborate my research. Some fact-checking has been possible through sourcing, for example, dates of shop and restaurant openings and addresses. The often nuanced and sometimes repetitive nature of Reed's oral testimony reflects a thoughtful, considered character, prone to self-analysis and self-deprecation. It makes for rich source material with which to construct, through the act of controlled believing, a narrative around his life. But first, as this thesis places the emphasis on the biography of the object, I analyse a garment Reed wore regularly in London and that epitomized his desire for a fashionable representation of masculine self.

Yohji Yamamoto Frock Coat T.42:1-3 – 2011

Figure 3.19: Image of Mark Reed and his parents, late 1997 wearing the Yamamoto coat analysed in this section. Image © Mark Reed

A photograph, probably taken in 1997, shows Reed smiling broadly with his arms around his parents. It appears to be a special occasion (formal dress for a dinner in a restaurant with glasses, cutlery and plates laid on the table). The photograph was taken by a third party, whose "absence" is enticing.[8] The image was a private family portrait, a memory of a night out. He is wearing a Yohji Yamamoto Pour

[8] As theorists Susan Sontag (1979) and Mavor (1995: 48) have described, the ephemeral nature of photography, capturing someone in one instant that is gone, and absence (read: death), are closely aligned.

Homme autumn/winter 1997-8 double-breasted coat. The collection featured in *Uomo Collezioni*, but this ensemble was not shown. The Yamamoto look books from later seasons (I viewed books from 2005 to 2016, but it was not possible to view earlier iterations from the 1990s as the London store had no archives prior to the early 2000s) present images of catwalk outfits, with manufacturing codes for each item. Next to some of the codes were pen-ink asterisks, indicating what was ordered for the store. These smaller than A5 size books, printed on smooth paper, cloth- or ring-bound, evidence Yamamoto's approach to presenting his vision of his collections. Men of different body shapes and sizes and ethnicities are photographed on the catwalk. This was a purposeful construction of masculinities, celebrating difference in body shapes and appearances, differentiating Yamamoto's presentation of his work from many of his fellow designers at the time. Through visual analysis, I noticed a few models walked a number of seasons: Gregory (solid, rotund, long grey hair), Stephane (smouldering attitude), Edouard (long dark wavy locks), Frederic (angular features), and Jera (gaunt face, thin body).

The look books were given to Reed to encourage the purchase of garments like this Yamamoto coat. Visually, apart from visual and creative responses to the collection on the front and back covers, a majority of them were populated with simple, full-length body images with factual details and designer codes under each image. Made of 50% wool, 45% rayon and 5% nylon, the coat is a small size and made in Japan.[9] It has eight white buttons in two parallel rows of four on the front right panel, visually drawing the eye down the silhouette of the coat. Both

[9] Yamamoto garments were sized Small, Medium and Large until the early 2000s, when they were re-sized 1 (smallest) 2, 3, 4, 5 (largest).

Figure 3.20: *L'Uomo Vogue*, autumn/winter 1997-8. Featuring garments from the same collection as T.42:1-3 – 2011

Figure 3.21: *Bloomsbury Fashion Central: Photography Archive*, autumn/winter 1997-8. Catwalk image of T.42:1-3 – 2011. Image © Niall McInerney, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

revers are covered in white satin-weave material, attached with hand-stitching. Reed remembers the 'wonderful fabric' and how it was 'quite an individual piece. I do remember thinking it was quite warm. It's not an evening suit, it's quite a warm fabric to wear if you're in the Dorchester Ballroom for five hours!' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). He was determined to purchase something from this collection from images he had seen in *Uomo Collezioni*. Reed viewed British Pop singer Boy George on a television programme wearing the same coat: 'I remember thinking "that's my jacket!"' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). The shirt, trousers and coat were accessorized with a tie (see figure 3.19, he purchased at least two ties that were interchangeable with two outfits) and were hung on the same hanger in his wardrobe. Reed said that he often tugged at a short loose thread holding the satin-weave material to one of the revers to ensure it didn't come undone. The memory of attending to an unravelling thread, and again the careful articulation of the ensemble placed on one hanger, reflects a purposeful personality paying attention to a loose thread, and the presentation of self.

Reed wore the coat with a loosely-fitting white shirt by a Japanese designer, either Yamamoto or CdG. The V&A stores the coat with a Yamamoto shirt and trousers as an ensemble. 'It's a shirt I would have worn with everything by Yamamoto… I could have worn Comme des Garçons shirts, which were quite similar, which had a particular small and structured collar…' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). He owned a number of Yamamoto white shirts from different seasons. The shirt has yellow stains at the collar and armpits. He purchased the black trousers later in the same season as the coat. Comparing the material

Figure 3.22: T.42:1-3 – 2011 Yohji Yamamoto black overcoat, detail of left rever with loose threads (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 07/09/16)

of the trousers to the coat, they appear the same. They are also a small size, with two deep pleats at the front. The front pockets are side-slanted, and the single-welt back pocket has darts going through the construction and the same white button as the coat. This reflects a very complex and precise manufacture, typical of Japanese companies producing very engineered, well-constructed, high-price-point garments for designers.

Reed considers this a formal, very special coat, with a Victorian silhouette that he favoured. He wore it only a few times in public. Proof of wear can be found within the breast pocket of the coat, where a concert ticket for the English National Opera's performance of director Calixto Bieito's 'A Masked Ball', dated 05 March 2002 remains. By the late 1990s, he had met his partner and was shifting his focus towards his style of clothing, moving away from the more dramatic silhouette of the Gaultier and Westwood ensembles to what he referred to as a more minimal, structured look (see chapter one). He believes the last time he wore the Yamamoto 'would have been Valentine's day, probably the first year I met Clive [his partner], and we went for lunch at Le Caprice…' (a restaurant on Arlington Street, London. Oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). He remembers drinking champagne and eating blueberry muffins. 'It probably would have been quite new.… I certainly wouldn't have worn it since I moved to France' (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15). These insights into Reed's life, gleaned from MCA of his coat and the ephemera found in the pockets, and the oral testimony, confirms the success of the effect layering different research methods has had on my outcomes.

Part of the impetus to donate this coat was due to Reed's pragmatic belief that

Figure 3.23: T.42:1-3 – 2011 Yohji Yamamoto black overcoat, trousers and white shirt (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 16/07/14)

he had gained weight by 2011 and would not be able to wear the ensemble again. This pragmatism, revealed through the oral testimony session I conducted with him, was productive in helping to build a portrait of a person keen to engage with masculine high fashion, but also donating garments that he had loved and worn. But, combined with the MCA of the clothes he wore, I constructed a bigger picture of a man who, through his clothes, was constructing different masculine identities. He wore some of these ensemble only a few times, but through small details like a loose thread on a rever, the MCA combined with the memories revealed through oral testimony revealed a character who was mindful of his choices in fashion and as objects to be cared for, and how and where he wore these ensembles.

I return now to Reed's memories of his life-story through his clothes, to construct a frame of reference for the reader of his life. His memories of childhood are, like most people, sketchy with significant moments etched in his mind that shift and change focus over time. What he remembers often reveals interesting perceptions of himself that offer reflections of his character. For instance, of his childhood clothing, Reed remembers a pair of Harris Tweed long trousers. 'As a child, I thought it was just like wearing sandpaper! [I] hated them! And fair-isle sweaters, and I guess, looking like a 1970s country singer, without a beard as I was about 4 at the time! My mum always liked me to look nice' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). Reed also remembers details of his childhood home, a Queen Anne revival house. 'First memories of the house… '70s Baroque-effect carpets, I think it was called "Sun King"…. Now looking back at it, it was utterly hideous, but fashion changes and I'm sure one day something like that will be in a design museum' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). It is these thoughts that captured my attention immediately, highlighting Reed's thought processes when it comes to institutionalized collecting. He thinks and describes things in terms of long-term collectability, from the carpet of his childhood home to his clothing. He has a keen sense of design, a constant throughout his life: in his choice of home and how he decorated it, to his university studies and fashionable attire.

Reed's memories during our oral testimony interviews were often jumbled, tumbling out of him as he remembered one thing then another in non-chronological order. It is evident that memory association plays a large part in re-remembering how he established his shopping habits.

> I had a friend at school, and I think his uncle or some[one] ran a clothes shop. So that may have been… I may have seen him wearing something, and I thought "O, that's unusual. Where did you get that?"… And I remember, in Hull, the first place… to stock Emporio Armani. And my parents did buy me some – O it's all coming flooding back!... A couple of times a year we'd [travel to London] and go to a show or a pantomime.… I can't remember what it was called or where it was, [a shop] somewhere in Knightsbridge I think. And I ended up with a [double-breasted] creased-linen suit.… I must have been [in my] mid-teens, if not slightly earlier. Really cool, something different, something like off television (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14).

It is important to explore further Reed's comment 'O it's all coming flooding back¡ in light of this research. Esther Leslie describes the reclamation of memory thus: 'Remembering occurs in the present, and the present accommodates the recollector. The process of excavation sifts through the layers that are the spatialization of the passage of time – the meaning of the object hinges on the layers of time that have smothered it, until now, the moment and place of discovery' (in Kwint et al, 1999: 108). Reed's reclamation of memories suggests a rapid re-engagement, once he got talking, of how he established his identity through clothing. This highlights the power of the MCA practice to engage subjects with their memories. He gathered information and inspiration of fashion from friends, magazines and the media. Reed's re-remembering of memories 'flooding back' is evident when he described his childhood fascination with structure and architectural plans,

> and the way human beings structure the world around them and our context in it. Perhaps that is a wider, or perhaps it's a symptom of something wider, of trying to find my place in the world. Just structuring things physically – how do we fit into clothes, how do we fit into buildings. What do we see, how do we present ourselves. Buildings – how do they function inside, what's the internal psychology, what's the façade they put on… (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14)

His interest in the eighteenth century stems from his love of formalism and the symmetrical, balanced shapes of design. Reed doesn't believe his love of history necessarily came from studying it. He reflected on this further as he described how 'I like the way things connect, straight right angles, everything is quite proper and correct. I think the toys I gravitated to [as a child] were like that, I guess that's just who I am. And the eighteenth century seemed to be all about that. I liked classical music.… I like modern things, but I really like old things as well' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). This conflation of historical and contemporary design was, for him, a viable way of expressing contrasts in his individuality and personality (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). The metaphor between a building structure and a human body (his own) is eloquent and thoughtful, revealing a reflective, considered approach when it comes to his dressed appearance.

A seminal life-memory for Reed from the early 1980s was British film director Peter Greenaway's film, *The Draughtsman's Contract* (1982). He realized that men could wear more stylish clothing than he was aware of at the time. On viewing the film, he reflected:

> perhaps it's the first time I really saw the historical context to that fact that men cannot look like 1970s men. That there were all these… possibilities. It could have been… something on Blue Peter about Louis the XVI… but what crystallised it for me was seeing the film. That it had all my favourite things come together, it was the architecture, it was the clothing (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14).

It not only piqued Reed's interest in historical costume, but offered a different perspective on masculine dress, and this new approach encouraged him to reflect on his identity further (see also chapter one). For Reed, historical men's clothing

signified quality of design and construction. He viewed his love of history and masculine historical dress as inspiration. In the following quote he refers to L.P. Hartley's novel, *The Go-Between*[10] (1955), para-phrasing the author's notion of history as something from another time and place. For him, history offered opportunities to explore other elements of his personal preferences and expressing them through his clothing choices.

> I think it's sort of like some people decide to go and visit foreign countries to see how things are done, to put their life into context. Perhaps I treated the past as a foreign country, and it's like, well, let's look at how they do things differently and how do I then approach my own life (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14)

He sought an alternative reality. 'Even before you realize your sexuality, there is some sort of difference, and finding a physical expression of that is something that comes to mind. And clothing is certainly the most visual thing' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). The richly evocative film costumes greatly influenced his appreciation for men's fashion, and suggested a greater spectrum of possibilities for him to identify with. Men's fashion of the 1980s and 1990s could, in effect, be a tool to enable him to find his place in the world (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). Through costume, Reed found a way to express his identity in fashionable clothing he purchased from designers like Jean-Paul Gaultier (The Edwardian-influenced ensemble V&A: T.89:1-5 - 2011, and the 18th century-style outfit BATMC 2011: 124.24 to C).

Reed matured into adulthood in the 1980s and early '90s. In the afterglow of sociological and sub-cultural movements like punk, the new wave and goth during the 1970s and '80s, there was, throughout his young adult life, a chaotic creativity

[10] 'The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there' (Hartley, 1955: 7).

in music, fashion and the arts in the UK. Inspired by first- and second-wave music and fashion trends of this period, Reed very specifically constructed identities with which to express himself, using clothing as a tool with which to do so.

Reed attended Southampton University to study philosophy. His interest in fashion developed as his skills in visual analysis would have been trained more formally through art historical training. A contemporary art unit that he studied unleashed his interest in art and design. He and his classmates travelled to London for tours of contemporary art galleries. As Reed states, he looked younger than his years, and asking art gallery assistants about artworks was not always easy (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). Reed used clothing to empower himself. Through them, he could be viewed differently, playing the part of an independently wealthy young man:

> "take me seriously. Don't I look rich!" So, you know, it's like "I want to fit into that world", and the clothing is the most obvious signifier.… The clothing is something you take with you.… a way to keep outsiders out.… Certainly, when you're a very conscious 20-year-old, trying to make… my own way in [the world] (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14).

To him, clothing was a reflection of his development as an adult. He remembers watching television presenters like Ross wearing Gaultier and music videos on MTV featuring musician Adam Ant in Vivienne Westwood garments, and thinking 'that [was] so modern and so fashionable, and so not what my life was. And "Oh, there is something else", there isn't just this' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). Moving from Southampton (after graduating with a BA) to London where he studied at the Courtauld, being able to afford designer fashion and artworks offered Reed the opportunity to develop a style of his own, individuate from his parents and explore his interests in art and design.

Figure 3.24: Reed and parents in Venice, Italy, 1990s. Image © Mark Reed

Reed's fashion purchasing history reflects a purposeful construction of a designer's vision, often that presented in lookbooks viewed at the designer's store or in *Uomo Collezioni*, purchased from RD Franks.[11] He noted how it wasn't as easy to source material about new fashions, and where to purchase it, before the internet became widely accessible. He would search through the listings in the back pages of British men's style magazines like *i-D*, *Arena Homme Plus*, *The Face* and *GQ*, seeking the addresses of stores where he could source items. 'It was a bit of a hunt.… [And then] this great sense of satisfaction when… "this is the shop!" and… [you] go in. I think there's certainly for me, a [sense of] I've got

[11] A central London book and magazine store on Winsley Street that specialized in fashion-related subjects.

to go in and get something, I've actually made it, I found it! No matter what it is, I'm sure I can buy a tie or a shirt!' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). Reed developed relationships with store staff he felt comfortable talking to, to see what looks were being ordered (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). He placed orders for particularly important pieces: a few of the items were limited in production, and he was proud of owning them (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). He purchased quotidian garments like white shirts if they were part of the designer's ensemble presented on the catwalk, even if they were similar in design to ones he already owned. These shirts were one thing Reed used between designers, believing that, in effect, a white shirt was a white shirt and there was seldom much design detail to tell them apart (oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15).

As previously noted, he was systematic in his acquisition of a series of ensembles from one designer over consecutive seasons, and of ensembles of objects that he brought together himself, based on personal taste and style. Reed associates additional significance on certain objects, for personal and social reasons, such as knowing that an item he owned was worn by a television presenter on a TV programme. This concerted effort to collect important pieces of apparel from one design house and across a number of seasons, reflects a deliberation about his wardrobe as personal garments to wear, and as a collection, that Reed presented throughout our interviews.

Many of Reed's purchases were made at seasonal sales and designer sample sales. He often waited until the sales to purchase higher-priced items. He received discounts for many purchases, sometimes at higher percentages than the sales re-

duction. At Gianni Versace's Old Bond Street store on 22 February 1999 Reed paid £798, a discount of 50% from the original price of £1595, for an off-white, fur-collared overcoat, the transaction undertaken by 'Andrew' (T.32:1–2011). The purchase of a bespoke Vivienne Westwood tartan ensemble (V&A:T.53: 1-9 – 2011) of coat, kilt, cape, shirt, hat, tie and garters is well documented through receipts showing three deposits for the ensemble paid over a four month period in 1996: a sales advisor, 'Jess', signed off one deposit on 15 August for £637; another on 24 October for £1000 (for the 'Isle of Skye show outfit'); and on 07 November for £533. As noted previously, Reed retained records of purchase, and spare buttons that are often attached to small cards or on care labels, in the pockets of garments to maintain information and materials for future reference. This again amplifies my argument that he was beginning to think and act like a collector. Ephemera like sales receipts evidence a time and place of purchase, how the object was purchased (cash or card), and the names of the store assistant. However slight this information appears, it aptly describes Woolf's plea for the small detail that amplifies the subtleties of someone's life-story. I suggest he was gathering proof of his life, storing these things (clothes, ephemera) in order not to forget.

During the 1990s, there were two shifts in Reed's focus in purchasing menswear. He divides these shifts between the cultural and the personal. For him, the culture of fashion shifted, from the very *outré* garments of Westwood and Gaultier to the minimal silhouettes of Prada, Helmut Lang and Jil Sander. The look was, he states, 'much quieter, more conservative, much more minimal.… I think the excessive Gaultier, Westwood things were sort of falling out of fashion.… So, I think by the time I was moving [to France], it was actually very difficult to find

Figure 3.25: Gianni Versace off-white fur-collar wool coat, T.32:1–2011 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 09/07/14)
Overcoat: 'Man's coat, heavier than a topcoat, designed for very cold weather. Sometimes lined with fur or modacrylic pile and made in Balmacaan, Chesterfield, Edwardian, or other styles' (Calasibetta, 1988: 123).

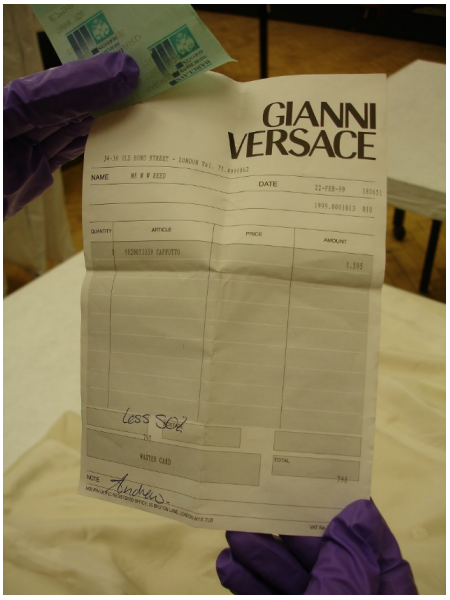


Figure 3.26: Receipt for Gianni Versace off-white fur-collar wool coat, T.32:1–2011 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 09/07/14)

anything very interesting' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). On a personal level, seeing the film *Gattaca* inspired Reed to try a new, more sobre appearance. He equates it with feelings of ageing, and that it was time to explore a different look.

Reed moved with his partner to France in 2000. He continued purchasing designer menswear and fine art up to that time. The move offered a sense of closure to his purchasing of clothing to the extent he had over the previous decade. Reed considered wearing an ensemble six times over a period of years as often-worn: given the amount of clothing in his wardrobe, something worn that often would be considered a favourite outfit (oral testimony with the author, 14/04/15). There are some outfits he retained from this period, and he wears them occasionally. Reed's construction of identity and sense of self is still intrinsically bound up in the fashionable attire he wears, even if it is less *outré* than in his past.

This section has analyzed the success a method like MCA has, when layered with

other methods, to expand biographical insights into Reed's life-story through his clothes. He built an impressive wardrobe of fashionable designer menswear of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Analyzing memories of the way he constructed a series of masculine identities using clothing as a tool, and how I interrogated these objects through the combined research methodology has, I argue, proven how effective fashion is as material biographical evidence. Through contextualizing Reed's use of clothing with his memories, and textual analysis of media coverage of the 1980s and '90s, what is gained is an expanded understanding of his life-story.

3.10 Conclusion

Reed's purposeful adoption of fashionable menswear to construct different masculine identities, analysed through combining MCA of his clothes with oral testimony and textual analysis, is a productive example of just how effective clothing is as evidence of a man's life-story. Subtle insights, such as the feeling against the body of a music manuscript in a pocket, is evidence of someone like Reed's thought processes, informing our understanding of their life-story. In this chapter I presented arguments for using MCA to analyse Tynan and Strong's life-stories alongside textual analysis and object-based research. I have highlighted how, even with these different emphases in methods as part of the research framework, MCA of clothing is the constant method through which significant amounts of biographical evidence has been found.

This chapter interrogated life-writing as a practice, drawing on the work of Lee,

Hoskins and Shelston amongst others, with which to develop Mitchell's notion of 'dress stories' (2012: 43). Constructing life-stories through dress enabled me to understand how objects and their biographies inform insights into the wearer. I also explored the impact everyday objects have in life-writing research, analyzing theorists including Rochberg-Halton's web of meaning to contextualize Tynan, Strong and Reed's perceptions of the things that surrounded them. The material evidence of a life-story, conflated with visual and literary analysis, captures moments of the men's everyday experience that amplifies elements of their character. Understanding the work of Gibson, Stallybrass, Deleuze and Guattari, and Crooke enabled me to question how "modulated believing" of this evidence was necessary, due to the unreliability of memory. Things and their use change over time. Because of shifting meanings, I argued how the trajectory of the biographies of the clothes these men wore is no less easy to comprehend than the life of the person themselves.

I interrogated the materiality of clothing as evidence of memory, highlighting how the imprint of someone's body on material can stand in for recollection when there is no other evidence. The objects in these museums' collections, in their second iteration, become a form of material memory, as Abel described earlier (2013). It is the collecting of someone's personal wardrobe that the next chapter interrogates, for insights into the biography and intentions of the wearer. I develop the biography of these objects, exploring how, as groups of clothing, the collections of Tynan, Strong and Reed came to be housed in two museums, considering museological theory to analyse notions of "collecting" and "non-collecting", the biography of collections, and collections as biography.

Chapter 4

"Post-private" Wardrobes, "Non-collectors", and Biographies of Collections of Dress

1979, and Ken Tynan is sitting in a chair in the middle of a room in Bel Air, Los Angeles. His hands are clasped in front of his face, shielding his mouth. The photograph is black and white, making it difficult to ascertain the colour of his clothes, but the top half, and his shoes, are pale in tone. The trousers appear very dark. The shoes seem to be the same as those stored in the V&A collection (T.573:1-2 – 1995). The image is closely cropped, the eye drawn to the light emanating from the open door behind Tynan's right shoulder to the garden beyond. Who is this photograph for (figure 4.1)? It is unlikely that an image so serious in tone, taken by well-known photographer and actor Roddy McDowell (known for publishing work in magazines like Vogue*) would have been for private, familial pleasure.*

Tynan's high street shoes would not be housed in the V&A collection for another 16 years. The journey these shoes travelled – from the personal wardrobe of a deceased man; a photoshoot; a journey back to the UK after he died; included in an archive of papers sold to the British Library; and ultimately given to the V&A – is part of their biography and part of Tynan's too.

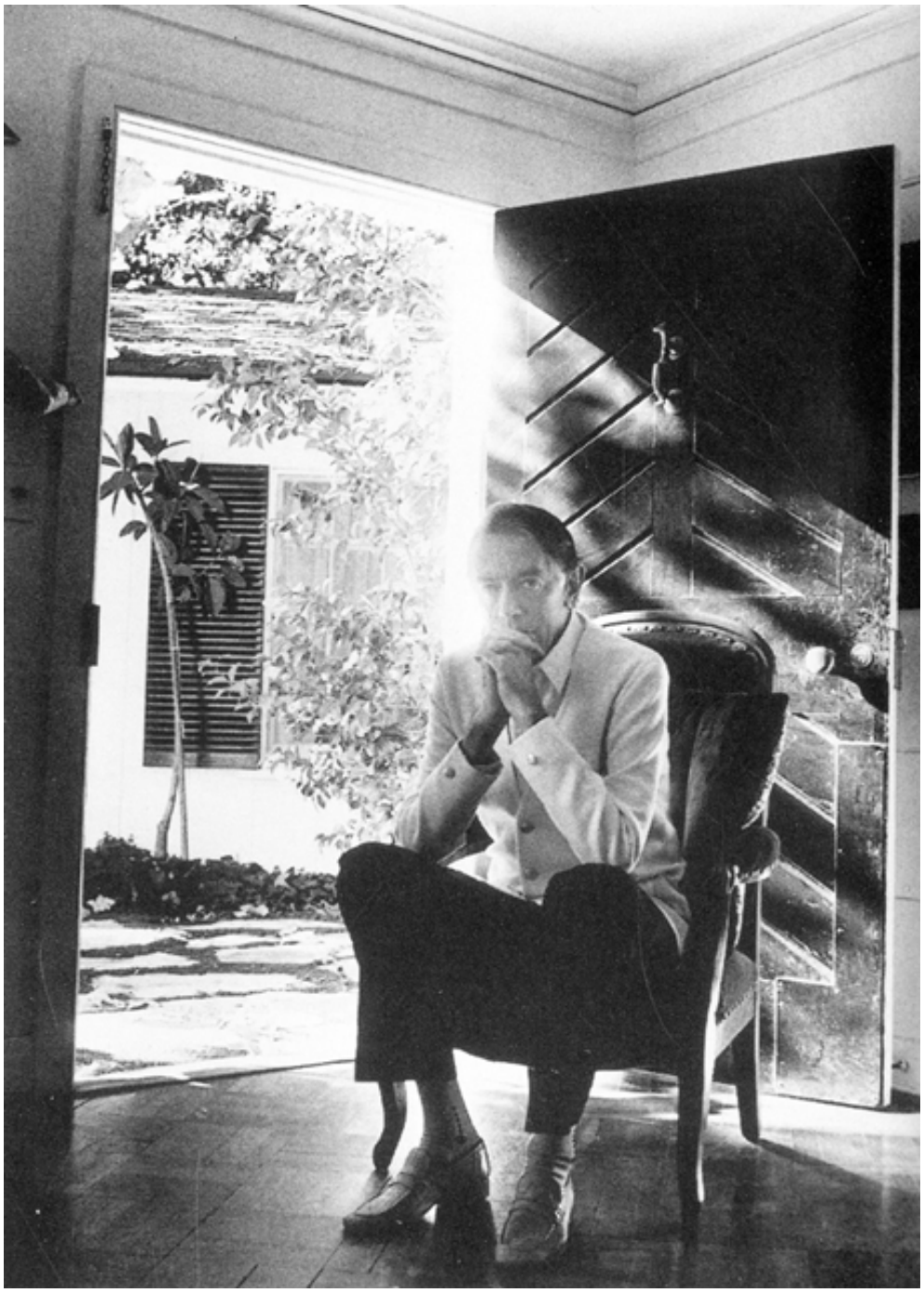


Figure 4.1: Kenneth Tynan, Bel Air, California, 1979 (photo: Roddy McDowell)

There is another photograph, perhaps taken on the same day by McDowell (Tynan appears to be wearing the same outfit [Tynan, 1987: 327]), of Tynan and his family sitting affably on a sofa, at ease, smiling and looking at each other. The difference in tone between this family image, and the staged formality and seriousness of his demeanour in the first image, is interesting. It suggests the photographs were intended for different audiences; the image of Tynan alone is perhaps for a more public one. He had something to prove by this stage in his life. He was seriously unwell. By 1979 newspapers in the UK were reporting his ill-health, and he was concerned that negative reports would lose him writing work. Was this Tynan on the offensive, trying to appear healthy, in control, to stave off any doubts in the media's eyes of his ability to work? What was Tynan thinking when the image was taken? One can only speculate.

This chapter builds on my work in previous chapters, examining the significant contribution combining MCA and object based research can bring to biographical research. I explored how Tynan, Strong and Reed constructed identities and representation of self, developing personas amidst changing socio-cultural landscapes. I critiqued materiality and the practice of MCA in order to literally see the wear and tear of objects. Through an examination of surface studies I elaborated the actual and philosophical interface of garment as a tool. And in chapter three I analysed the biography of objects and life-writing to tell the stories of dress and augment the biographies of the men who wore them.

This final chapter focuses on collections of fashionable menswear as a whole, rather than individual objects or ensembles. I do not undertake as much MCA of clothing, because the argument focuses on the whole, rather than the singular.

I explore "post-private" wardrobes – by which I mean second iterations in the histories of these wardrobes, and continuing to reflect the biography of the collections of Tynan, Strong and Reed. I analyse the state of "non-collecting" and "archival behaviours", as a way of interrogating how these groupings of clothes reflect biographical insights into the men who wore the garments. In so doing, I argue that the life-story of the person who wore them is enriched by contextualising and analysing these wardrobes (including associated fashion accessories and paper ephemera) as a group, including how they arrived at the V&A and FMB. I critique how personal wardrobes of clothing, analysed as a group, can describe a subject's life-story from different perspectives, from the physicality of the person who wore them, to social, cultural, political, economic and historical contexts. I explore transitions, from the private, personal wardrobe worn for enjoyment, fashion, convenience or professional appropriateness, to a publicly-accessible institutional collection – a post-private wardrobe. I treat this transition as part of Tynan, Strong and Reed's biographies.

A number of processes suggests the biography of these men's objects continues well beyond the personal wardrobe, including the ageing process of clothes, how they are stored, who views the objects and who goes on to research them, and the wear and tear of display. As collections accessioned by museums, these men's post-private wardrobes are still very personal to the wearer's life-story and, because of this, offering opportunities for more intimate, revelatory interpretation. Complicating this discussion is how donors might self-define themselves as collectors, or not. It is common museological parlance to describe groups of things as "collections". Throughout this thesis, I have referred to Tynan, Strong and

Reed's wardrobes of clothes as collections, because of this vocabulary; but it is an interesting dynamic, or dilemma, that requires further interrogation in future research.

In this chapter I outline collecting practices to contextualise my argument, before interrogating how at least two of the subjects challenge established gendered collecting practices. I analyse collections as reflections of someone's biography, before establishing post-private wardrobes as an approach to how these men's clothing, as a whole, continue to reverberate with their life-stories. I then examine the different collecting motivations (or lack of) of Tynan, Strong and Reed, positioning their behaviours within theoretical (mainly museological) frameworks. The act of collecting or "non-collecting" tells us something of the person's biography. I interrogate how collections are imbued with personal histories by the very nature of them being formed (or not) and what they contain. I draw on museological and philosophical perspectives from theorists such as Benjamin (1968, 1978), Pearce (1989, 1992, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003), Belk (1995), Elsner and Cardinal (1994), Bal (1997), Baudrillard (1997) and de la Haye (2018) to interrogate ways of interpreting Tynan and Strong's seeming contradictory behaviours around collecting dress, and Reed's growing sense of his wardrobe as a body of pieces of interest to researchers of menswear. As the subjects' clothing was assessed using MCA, it is important to reflect on how this practice of working on individual objects impacts on the narrative of their lives when assessing a group of things.

4.1 Establishing collecting practices

This section examines historical definitions of collecting and how these can inform my analysis of someone's life-story. These discussions enabled me to couch Tynan, Strong and Reed's wardrobes in a framework of MCA and object-based analysis to reach a greater understanding of them as individuals.

What do I mean when I suggest that someone's collecting, or non-collecting practices, might amplify our understanding of their life-writing? Reviewing relevant literature surrounding collecting practice, the journey to becoming collectors, what is collecting, how and what was collected, and what this might suggest about them was based in psychoanalytical analysis (see Freud, 1916; Trustram, 2014; Simon, 1972). To contextualise my research, it was necessary to pose some obvious questions, deeply embedded in museological literature, including: what is collecting? What is a collection? Given the fact that Tynan and Strong did not state they were collectors, further questions arose, including: how does a gathering of objects such as a wardrobe of one man's clothing constitute a collection of artefacts, and when should it remain just that: a personal wardrobe of clothing? If the original owner of those artefacts did not deem themselves a collector of clothing, is it a collection? Was the "collector" actually a collector? Definitions of collecting are diverse, overlap and necessarily broaden this debate. In order to engage with the questions I call on museological practices to analyse these men's behaviours to expand the discussion.

Collecting as a conscious act has been defined as an actively selective practice of acquisition over a period of time (see Pearce, 1989, 1992, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003;

Baudrillard, 1997; Belk, 1995; Bal, 1997; Elsner and Cardinal, 1994; and Dudley et al., 2012b). What is collected are possessions, defined as 'material things, ideas, beings or experiences' that are then imbued with 'extraordinary meaning from the entity (the collection) that this set is perceived to constitute' (Belk in Pearce, 1998: 3). The practice of collecting has been defined as 'obsession organized' (Aristides, 1988: 330) and is often formed in an arbitrary fashion; simply put, 'the best definition of a collection is simply that a collection exists if its owner thinks it does...' (Pearce, 1998: 3). Through the acquisition of a set of objects, related explicitly (for example through shape, style or colour) or implicitly (the meaning imbued in them by the collector), a narrative of identity emerges. A collection can be seen as defining the collector or curator, reflecting their personal taste over an extended period of time. When a garment is transferred from the personal space (a wardrobe) to the public space (a museum), there is no guarantee that the object's stories will also be transferred. This is dependent on the relationship between donor and institution, and the reasons behind, and purpose of, the transfer. How successfully this is achieved depends on the narrator – in this instance, the curator – and their ability to capture as much of the object's biography as possible (including visual information) at the time of accessioning. But this is dependent on the remit of the museum's collecting policy. Perhaps, as I have argued, museological procedures might differ when dealing with either new, or worn, clothing. It is also a matter of available time, and opportunity, for curators to be able to undertake this work. For instance, the opportunity for the V&A curators to capture information around Tynan's wardrobe was hampered by the route to the museum (via the British Library). A sense of a collection's "biography" requires understanding of these journeys, and requires further exploration

to contextualise this research.

Collecting and telling stories have been described by Pearce (2003) and Bal (in Elsner and Cardinal, 1994) as inherent, if not an innate condition, of human beings. Philosopher Jean Baudrillard believed objects reflected the subject, asserting that the miracle of collecting is that 'it is invariably *oneself* that one collects' (in Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 12). Curator Neil Cummings questions whether it is possible 'that we become synonymous with our patterns of accumulation? From finding things in the street, and lovers' gifts, to international trade negotiations, we literally collect ourselves into being' (in Pearce and Martin, 2002: 289). Pearce described how 'Collections are material autobiography, written as left behind as our monument' (1995: 272). So too, applying the same approach to someone's biography and the things surrounding their lives explains the term biography of objects. Remove the utilitarian function of an object, and it takes on subjective status: meaning is in the hands of the protagonist and can be imbued in a collection of objects as a whole (Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 8). Metaphorically, our DNA is reflected in the shape and value (financial or symbolic) given to the objects and collection by the collector. Writing of the Messel collection, a series of wardrobes of fashionable clothing and fancy dress spread across six generations of women from the same family (the stories presented in an exhibition at Brighton Museum in 2005), fashion historian and curator Amy de la Haye, fashion historian Lou Taylor and curator Eleanor Thompson noted, 'a collection of one person's clothes can reflect, in fabric and stitches, the factual and emotional story of their life…' (2005: 14). Collections can reveal what we would like ourselves to be; our fantasies of ourselves are kept alive ('The collector of Mickey Mouse items col-

lects them because he is an "overgrown kid"' [Belk, in Pearce, 2003: 322]). They are a form of systematising memory (Cardinal in Shelton, 2001: 12).

Philosopher and cultural critic Walter Benjamin considered the internal conundrum facing a collector, that being the contradiction of an orderly and systematic practitioner and an impassioned acquirer of objects. He stated that 'Every passion borders on the chaotic, but the collector's passion borders on the chaos of memories' (1968: 61-2). Belk noted that time and effort spent choosing and assembling a collection 'means that the collector has literally put a part of self into the collection' (in Pearce, 2006: 321). Quoting Benjamin and Belk introduces the idea that collectors may appear orderly and systematic, when in fact they are impassioned. It is interesting to posit this idea when considering Reed's sense of collecting, how he perceived his collection, and how he maintained it. This will be discussed further.

Collecting as a passion was exemplified by psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, who collected antiquities. So passionate was he about his collection that, when he was forced to flee Vienna in 1938, a ransom was paid to have his collection released and shipped to London (see Dudar, 1990: 108). He wrote about his collection and the value he placed on it, and displayed pieces in his analysis room. If one of the seminal figures of modern mental health care was a collector, it is interesting to question why it is that the act of collecting has seldom received analysis itself. Myna Trustram (Manchester School of Art) notes that museums 'have escaped sustained attention from psychoanalytic perspectives', in contrast to other forms of cultural output, such as literature, art and film (2014: 68).

Rita Simon, art therapist, claimed that '(p)aintings can be studied as pictorial

autobiographies' (1972: 146). In other words, we reflect our mental state in the objects we create: we are what we create (Simon 1972). I speculate, but could Simon's idea of creating art-autobiographies be expanded: to collect ourselves into an existence where we use objects to say something about who we are as individuals, we become what we collect. Objects can reveal the collector's inner state of mind, and frame other people's perceptions of the collector. Considering Reed's collecting practices, his wardrobes in two museums now resemble a carefully constructed series of identities that he experimented with and created, to express his individuality, sexuality and masculine identity. To fully understand collectors and collecting we need to embrace a fuller spectrum of practices within different environments.

I favour an alternative term to collecting, "archival behaviour" (as described in the introduction, a re-appropriation of a Classical Studies notion, and borrowing from Jacques Derrida's publication title, *Archive Fever*, 1995), where someone shows symptoms of archiving and collecting. They may segue from wearing the object, to maintaining and storing it in a way that reflects archiving or collecting practices: careful and considered storage, and an awareness of longevity beyond the life of the thing in the possession of the original collector. This parallels sociologist Ian Woodward's theory in which he describes how the biography of one person's objects becomes significant when it shifts into another context, such as being accessioned into a museum's archive (2012: 29). Applying his theory to clothing, the biography of a garment moves from a utilitarian garment (a commodity) to adorn the body that was likely perceived differently by the wearer (immersed in a personal biography), to an artefact accessioned into a museum

collection that, through this action, is imbued with cultural significance (and subjectified). The trajectory of personal wardrobes like Tynan, Strong and Reed's follows a pattern that Claire Wilcox, a curator who has spent her career collecting, examining and interpreting dress in the V&A collection, outlined:

- A garment is purchased by an individual
- Through wear and tear, experiences had when wearing the garment, and memories triggered in the association, it is imbued with meaning
- In an act of gifting or otherwise, the object is assimilated within a collection
- In so doing, a period of time is captured, and historical significance is imbued, even if it is a very personal history (oral history with the author, 22/01/15).

Baudrillard's earlier proposition complicates this curatorial approach, by suggesting that through the process of collecting itself, the original purpose and context of the object is removed (in Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 8). I relate this to Reed's menswear wardrobe, no longer perceived as a group of clothes for wearing but a collection of artefacts imbued with meaning, symbolism and Reed's memories. For Baudrillard then, this annexation of use renders things with purpose into 'objects' and 'pieces': 'once the object stops being defined by its function, its meaning is entirely up to the subject' (in Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 8). From a curatorial perspective, Wilcox suggested, 'different forces alter our perceptions of the clothing, but not the clothing itself'; forces such as when the object 'becomes of

importance historically, through age or through association with a famous wearer or dynasty, or whether it is clothing associated with trauma' (oral history with the author, 22/01/15). The "collector", in these cases the curator of the museum that houses the object, defines the meaning. This action of separation from the object "distances" the original owner from the biography of the thing. It is relevant to note that Reed referred to many of his garments as 'pieces' (see: oral testimony with the author, 20/01/15; 15/04/15; 23/10/15), reflecting a nascent museological vocabulary. In doing so, he distanced himself from his own wardrobe through the use of an impersonal, objective term. He perceived the objects differently, they lost some of their personal significance when he referred to them as something beyond his own wardrobe. But, the collection is still very much associated with his life-story.

This perception of objects taking on significance once stored in two museums has been interrogated by cultural theorist Mieke Bal, whose interest lies in the narrative power of collecting. She reinforced the notion that *groups* (collections) of objects can describe, symbolise, and act as agents of the collector (in Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 99). The clothes in Tynan, Strong and Reed's collections have some form of biographical meaning imbued in them through the fact that they once belonged to someone. They are now grouped as a collection once in the possession of that person, but accessioned in a museum's collection. Bal is effectively describing a post-structuralist field called non-representational theory, where the inherent significance of objects, intentionally constructed for a specific operation or task, is removed from the reading of that object, much like Neil MacGregor's description of mutable, changing meanings of objects (see chapter three). Non-

representational theory prioritises practices of performed engagement between humans and objects, rather than production of things. Mutability is part of understanding an object in a constant flux of meaning. Everyday actions, such as routines, experiences and encounters offer different readings of how we understand and experience objects and living (Lorimer, 2005: 84; see also Thrift, 2008: 5-18; Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 11).

Applying this sense of mutability of objects over time to Tynan's case, without corroborating evidence, it appears he had no intention of gifting his wardrobe to a museum or archive. His wardrobe was sold by his second wife, Kathleen Tynan, to the British Library 15 years after his death. It was accessioned because of its value by association with him. Can we, from museological perspectives, consider him a collector of clothes *in retrospect*, given his intentions do not appear to have been so? I suggest not. I considered Tynan's acts of non-collecting as a more instinctual act, like archival behaviours, reflecting a mutable engagement with everyday actions and objects as described in non-representational theory: he needed clothes to wear, with which he could construct a creative identity, someone with influence in the theatrical and artistic milieu of the UK and the USA in the mid-20th century.

It is useful to compare Tynan's behaviours to Bailey's biography of Rembrandt, where he presents the seventeenth century Dutch artist's collecting practices as an instinctual act. Bailey described Rembrandt's instinctual approach to collecting, at times regardless of expense (2014: 177). For the artist, collecting was about bringing objects together that pleased his eye or served a function. His collections of objects served a purpose beyond mere appreciation of their qualities;

they are vital in analysing the narratives found in his imagery. So too, Tynan purchased and wore garments that pleased his eye, guided by his instinct for a sharp silhouette that would flatter his long and slender frame and create an impression, positive or negative, on his audience. He didn't spare the cost when it came to his personal wardrobe, especially when we consider his Nutter safari jacket and the expensive silk socks he wore. I argue that his extensive wardrobe was not about gathering together pieces that he could imagine might someday tell the story of his life, in the guise of a collection in a museum.

Accessioning an object into a museum collection ascribes a significance to the thing: in the act of assimilating the collection into the institution itself, this series of events suggests a symbolic permanence to the object from a socio-cultural perspective (Pearce, 1992: 35). A group of objects like a personal wardrobe of clothes does not necessarily enter the institution as a collection, but once within the context of a museum, the objects form part of a wider, institutional "collection", framed by taxonomies and re-contextualised within the institution's frameworks. The following ideas impact on what objects are selected for a museum's collection, and how they are displayed and interpreted for audiences: why is an object chosen (the culture of the museum and its rationalisation for existing and displaying objects through a collecting policy); the object's perceived cultural and market value; how it is accessioned and classified; what information is gathered to support the case; how it is retrieved, who does the retrieving (the curator and their knowledge, experience, background all impact on what information they gather); what is privileged about this information and how it is rationalised; and the museum's taxonomic categorisation of things. We interpret and describe an

object from contemporary perspectives, and construct narratives based on culturally inculcated viewpoints, and within the space it is received in. This is inevitable, given our incapacity for time travel and seeming difficulty to "walk in others' shoes" when trying to understand other cultures, ways of living or being in different countries, considering and appreciating different societal practices, and generally trying to understand, interpret and narrate the past. Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks offer, from performative and archaeological perspectives, relevant parallel references for collecting. Curators select objects for inclusion in a collection, based on a perceived value (socio-cultural, political, economic, historical), age, authenticity, originality, association and context (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 114). These concepts that are considered by museum workers from inculcated cultural and philosophical perspectives. And all are difficult to define, and nor is it easy to remain completely impartial when collecting for museums.

In the act of collecting, the object is deemed worthy of collecting: by a curator, with their professional expertise and academic rigour; and by a society, because the object is now in a museum collection, which perceives it as having a value from a socio-cultural, political, economic and historical perspective. Within the context of the museum, where heritage is located, accessible and explained and contextualised from specific perspectives, collections take on yet other meanings. Trustram described museum collections becoming

> meaningful when elaborated by people's subjectivity [and] when played with.… [T]hat process of acquiring meaning is inherently ambiguous. Museums love the materiality of objects, the objectivity of objects, but… the museum also enables the expression of subjective states of mind through that materiality, which can then symbolize those inner states (2014: 82).

Objects are categorised within a collection, be it national, regional, social or per-

sonal, through the object's biography and constituent materiality (colour, utilisation, shape, dimensions, silhouette, time, histories [social, political, economic, cultural]) (Wilcox, oral history with the author, 22/01/15). Curators and biographical researchers are participants in the construction and maintenance of the collection, and audiences are active agents in the creation of meaning of objects and collections in museums, with relative freedom to create their own stories around them. When objects, such as clothing in a museum, becomes lost to everyday use, they become symbolic in a broader cultural and social sense. Therefore, Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing can be imbued with different meanings by biographical researchers, to those imparted by the men themselves.

The significance of an object in a museum collection is altered by dint of changed circumstances. The museum environment invites behaviours which encourage potential donors to see it as a sanctuary for their loved objects (as Reed may have perceived the V&A and FMB). The orderly objectiveness and taxonomic nature of museum collections offers a safe haven for collectors and the depositing of their objects. It is an assured space, well regulated, where things are given meaning through the context of being in that museum collection, the assumption being that they will never leave due to rigorous accessioning policies. The outward appearance is of a professional, academic, rigorous, logical, objective space – characteristics a collector aspires to and values. As explored in chapter three, Reed describes himself appreciating controlled environments that fostered a sense of history; the structure and symmetry of 18th century Georgian design, the simplicity and order of his private, minimalist domestic interiors inspired by John Pawson, and a very systematic way of storing his clothes (one ensemble on

one coat hanger, all in colour order). I argue this reflects an ordered, museological personality, someone who was aware that the museum was a secure space for his wardrobe to reside in.

The imperatives driving museum donations might be ascribed to the sense that they are places where the past and the future are considered. The space offers continuity of histories covering broad themes, including biographies of societies and individuals. As Trustram notes, humans by nature long for the past and dream about the future, and the museum offers a space where objects are placed indefinitely, often with little or no limits to the amount of time they will remain in the collection (2014: 80). Museums offer a personal and collective sense of continuity where objects are captured in a contextual frozen space and time. The symbolic sacralisation that is bestowed upon objects in a museum collection is also reassuring. A donor like Reed is reassured by these familiar characteristics of museums. He would have every right in believing the objects he donated will be archived and stored efficiently, researched and displayed, for future generations to engage with; and, ultimately for his legacy to be assured.

Having established a number of perspectives on collecting practices, the following section explores an important context with which to analyse how Tynan, Strong and Reed's wardrobes came to be in two museum collections – gendered approaches to a group of objects.

4.2 Gendered collecting practices

This section interrogates theories around gendered collecting practices in relation to Tynan, Strong and Reed's wardrobes to amplify the museological imperatives, or lack of, in the accessioning of men's fashion in museum collections. I pose the question particularly in light of Reed's collecting of fashion, and whether my research into his motivations challenges currently-accepted museological research into masculine collecting practices. I then interrogate how this understanding of collecting motivations offers the biographical researcher an enhanced understanding of the life-stories of a man like Reed.

Men collecting fashion challenge traditionally-viewed stereotypes of, and research on, gendered collecting (see: Pearce 1998; Belk 1995: 99). This thesis does not claim to answer the questions raised in this respect, but proposes that research like Pearce's rigorous and wide-ranging collecting survey of 1998, and Belk's work, provides a theoretical framework for Reed's approach to collecting fashion. Furthermore, since these texts were published, 20 years ago, perceptions of gendered identities have shifted considerably. Pearce's contribution to the study of collecting practices, the Contemporary Collecting in Britain Survey on masculine and feminine collecting trends, offers a valuable body of research with which to contextualise this issue. In it, she noted that there were more female collectors than male (of those that collected objects, 58% were women, 42% men [1998: 126]). Findings highlighted that female collectors concentrated on room ornaments, pop culture, jewellery and household goods: the nature of these goods tending towards soft textures and surfaces that are attractive to look at. Masculine collecting practices were imbued with issues surrounding gender, perceived codes

of masculine behaviour, accepted and assumed norms of cultural conduct. Male collectors tended to gather larger collections, concentrating on sporting material, machinery, musical instruments, militaria and paintings; the nature of these objects veering towards harder materials with a practical purpose (Pearce, 1998: 133-5). But, Pearce did note, when collecting fashion, that it falls somewhere in the middle of engendered collecting patterns - the liminal space between 'masculine' and 'feminine' practices (1999: 218-220).

Pearce's quote is productive to interrogate further regarding Reed who collected mostly clothing but also accessories such as jewellery, millinery and footwear. In this respect, his collecting practices run counter to the accepted "gendered norms" outlined in Pearce's survey. But Reed's collection also matches some of the masculine collecting practices defined by Pearce. Firstly, it is a large collection. The size of the V&A and FMB collections of Reed's wardrobe was due to him offering a large number of objects, and the curators choosing many to be accessioned (the V&A selected sets of one designer's looks from the same season, or ensembles that Reed purposefully wore together, described in the life-writing chapter). Secondly, more men investigate the object's background (for example, history, provenance, price) before purchase. Reed actively sought information about the designers, and he accessed previews of menswear collections to select which ensemble he would consider purchasing. Because the acts of purchasing, dressing and wearing these ensembles were so important to him, he remembers many facts about them (including where they were purchased), aided by the sales receipts and price tags still attached to or stored in many pieces. The lessons that can be taken from Pearce's study are that generalisations concerning gendered

collecting practices are often too limiting in their perspective; and that, since 1998, in only the space of two decades, it can be argued that men's appreciation of fashion and dress, given the expansion of fashion and lifestyle products for men (induced by socio-cultural influences and trends), necessarily broadens the debate on what masculine collecting practices are. This requires further research beyond the scope of this thesis to corroborate this assumption.

As Pearce herself presciently noted when discussing European traditions and trends in collecting objects, '[…] images of gender are intrinsically complex' (1999: 222). Pearce's consideration of the increasing complexity of gendered collecting is valuable to re-consider, given the emerging communities of people self-defining as non-gender binary and non-cis-specific identities (with prefixes like 'Mx'), refusing to label their sexualities. This creates an even more complex landscape when considering men's collecting practices. Establishing a clear definition of gendered collecting is, I propose, no longer viable. Curators and museologists like James Laver (in Clark et al 2014: 38), Alexandra Palmer (2008) and Julia Petrov (2014) have encouraged debate around gender imbalance when it comes to fashion collections, fashion curators and objects presented in exhibitions. These complex arguments validate questions raised by this research, when considering why masculine identities (or indeed, any) are not explored more through worn clothing.

The next section expands the notion of the single object and the complexity of gendered collecting practices. I interrogate Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothes as wardrobes and, because they are grouped together and being able to compare them (using MCA as a tool), I propose this expands our insights into their life-

stories.

4.3 Collections as biography

This section analyses the concept of the biographical collection. In order to define what I mean, I explored work by biographer Lisa Cohen, who asks 'What sort of biographical text is a collection?... What is the relation between facts and feelings in an archive?' (2012: 185). As she notes, many collectors keep the important with the inconsequential, and, alongside a keen connoisseurship this is one of the defining characteristics of collectors (2012: 186). How researchers approach the biographical collection as evidence of a person depends on the questions asked of it.

Returning to Baudrillard, I agree that collecting is very much an act of collecting oneself into being; of collecting oneself in, or from, a situation and environment; of reflecting on one's life; of preserving, for posterity, for social standing, forever, elements of one's existence; for safe-guarding a history that will be likely lost if not preserved in an archive or museum collection. The collector including and excluding objects influences what is interpreted by the researcher. Most of all, collections are proof of a life lived, a determined and determining stance that places the collector deep in the cultural history and future of the society. They are irrefutable evidence of existence, even if that evidence can, and often is, challenged, and when expedient, ignored. The subtle hints and suggestions of what is there (materiality) and what isn't (immateriality) are markers for curators and biographers to use in their construction of life-stories (see Adamson, in Harvey,

2009). As Emeritus Professor and Museologist Gaynor Kavanagh states, 'History and memory meet in the collections, within the research process and within the museum visit' (1996: 1). Memory, and therefore, I contend, a life-story, is evidenced in collections, even if it isn't recorded visually or in word.

Owning and wearing clothes and accessories leaves physical imprints that are captured in the objects themselves. Pearce described how 'Collections are material autobiography, written as we go along and left behind as our monument' (Pearce 1999: 272). So too, applying the same approach to someone's biography and the things surrounding their lives explains the term "biography of objects". Professor Akbar Abbas asks the question: 'Can collecting… be regarded as "a way of telling", a way of transmitting experience through objects rather than verbal language?' (1988: 232). If, as Belk describes, objects are 'packages of memories' (1995: 92), then Abbas' contention that the intention and process of collecting reveals something of the collector, also suggests the objects they collect are imbued with memory.

To illustrate this idea, I reviewed Cohen's *All We Know: Three Lives* (2012), which presented short biographies of three women to compare and contrast their lives, a method I utilised for this research. Esther Murphy, Mercedes de Acosta, and Madge Garland are interrelated through friendship, social standing and the way they led their lives (very glamorous, usually controversial, certainly complicated). The three subjects I studied were not so interrelated, but there were similarities: an interest in masculine attire, a desire to be seen as stylish or fashionable, and, in different ways, a wish to leave a legacy. Mercedes de Acosta had a sustained and intense friendship with actress Greta Garbo that was hinted at by

many, including herself, to be a romantic relationship. Her collection of paper ephemera was made publically accessible in 2000. The collection was an accumulation of abstract things, such as the card accompanying a bouquet of flowers Garbo had sent to de Acosta with no writing on it. There are many reasons why the card has no message on it. Garbo perhaps had no time to write anything, or ordered the flowers be sent from a florist and forgot to leave a message; or she purposefully chose not to include any terms of endearment for another reason. A relevant question to ask is: why would de Acosta keep a card that had no identifying signature of Garbo's on it, if it wasn't significant in some way? The interpretive powers of curators, biographers and the media have seldom questioned this any further, rarely asking the interrogative questions required. In much the same way as Garbo's blank message, Strong's small white cards with dates and names of designers, and the occasional statement ('summer linens'; 'c.1995'; 'designer t-shirts'; 'Costume National c.1995-2000') offers rich opportunities for potential stories. Even if the memories are vague ('late 1970s I think'), they still offer significant understanding of Strong's approach to life, and insight into his psyche. Without him remembering what every item was for, and if biographers and curators are unable to capture this information permanently through further research, such as oral history, these "small" records potentially become the only witness to the biography of the garment. In so doing, they become "large" in significance when analysing someone's biography through their objects like clothes, now part of a museum collection.

Strong was acutely aware of his persona, both public and private; as clothes from these distinct wardrobes eventually merged (through life changes) and became

evident in the material I analysed. Likewise, Reed was purposefully constructing a very public personal statement, through contemporary, or 18th century garments; he was prepared to be seen wearing these very deliberate declarations of intent in public. The contrast between the seemingly shy, gently humorous man that I interviewed for this research, the ensembles he created, and how wearing them made him feel and how they affected his demeanour in the wearing, is marked. Tynan took care (over extended periods of time) of his clothing, but he wore them hard, sometimes to the point of disintegration. What does this suggest about his character? It is the insights gained of these groups of garments in each man's wardrobe that I turn to next, and analyse the notion of the post-private wardrobe as a lens through which to consider these often very personal insights.

4.4 "Post-private" wardrobes

This section contextualises and presents a case for considering the "post-private" wardrobe as a way of describing a collection of men's clothing that may not have been intended as such. I devised the term "post-private" wardrobe to describe Tynan's, Strong's and Reed's garments now in the V&A and FMB collections. A group of fashion objects, their wardrobes of clothing, were stored in their homes, and (often) worn. However the objects arrived in the museums, and whether or not the person donating the things could be considered a collector, there is, for at least two of the subjects, and the relatives of the third, an intention that these clothes be stored in a secure place, where they would be cared for and interpreted. The post-private wardrobe defines this intention, and the interaction between institution and object. It was the awareness that a wardrobe of clothes, as a group,

may have value over and above the individual pieces that drove Strong and Reed to donate these garments. The objects resonate with their life-stories. Now, in two museum collections, and without wishing to anthropomorphise these inanimate objects, they have taken on their own life-stories; richly imbued with the memories of these men, some of it captured in photographs, both private and public (in Tynan's case, the drivers' licences stored in the brown leather wallet; in Strong's case on white memory cards; in Reed's case in the ephemera found in pockets and attached to the garments). They attract other biographies, as curators and researchers analyse and exhibit them.

The reasons behind how they arrived in museum collections means that the way they are interpreted is different. For example, Strong was re-appraising his personal and professional legacy as his perceptions about his wardrobe shifted. By capturing the stories of his attire on the white "memory" cards, he offers a rich source of biography and insights into the meaning imbued in the garments. His professional and personal insights into objects instilled in him a clear sense of the power of biography and legacy when stored in a museum. He understood the importance of collections and collecting to cultural institutions. His expertise in history gave him insights into the importance of clothing to the production of socio-cultural, socio-economic, historical concerns and class systems, and the potential to tell stories about our lives.

Strong's and Reed's division of their wardrobes between the museums, and Strong's numerous donations over the decades, are not surprising acts, or a disproportionate response to a given situation. Often, life changes fundamentally and irrevocably; with change comes reflection; on reflection, comes change. This

was a considered act on their behalf. Social psychologists Robert Wicklund and Peter Gollwitzer (1982), like Trustram, describe how life changes inspire shifts in thinking, a movement in a direction that may not have occurred before. Transitions in our lives stir us into action: to finish a collection; to ensure its future; or disseminate it amongst family, friends, or external institutions like museums. In so doing we allow ourselves to release memories and move on, by removing objects from our environment that have the power to remind us of the past. As lives transition, objects can reflect these moments. Strong and Reed saw their garments taking on another life within the museum context; from personal garments, to socio-cultural signifiers that tell the story of two men, with different but equally rich biographies as wardrobe collections.

The esteem of having a collection accepted into a museum is also worth considering: Strong was aware of the power of 'acceptance' within a museum context, and the act of giving material for future research and enjoyment (see Pearce, 1999: 248-9). Trustram considers how the collector individuates from their collection, or group of objects, as the objects transfer from one space (personal garments to be worn) to another (public artefacts for research and display). This shift can help people move through life changes. Museums offer, as Trustram notes, 're-assurance about the future: all will not be lost' (2014: 81). Donating once-worn clothes is an act of grief and moving on at the same time (see Gibson 2008). Taking the analogy further, giving your own objects, like clothing, to a museum is a mode of finding a way through a situation. Museums offer a space where memory can be stored, symbolised through objects and preserved in perpetuity. Both Strong and Reed were also aware of the power of the object to tell stories, given

Strong's engagement with the two museums (29 December 2005. Strong, unpublished Diaries 2004-2015) and Reed's perceptions revealed through oral testimony. It is a space where a collecting of memories and ideas as much as the collection of objects as post-private wardrobes that these clothes now inhabit.

The next section moves on from exploring intentions, to analyse Tynan's wardrobe as a whole, and his "collections" of small things – paper ephemera and driving licences. Should we consider his behaviours in terms of collecting practices, when it is evident he never considered himself one? These are the types of questions this research framework can offer the practice of biographical research.

4.5 Kenneth Tynan: non-collector

I believe Tynan was not a collector, given the layering of object-based research with MCA undertaken for this thesis. It appears, with no indication in his writings and from oral history interviews with his daughter Tracy Tynan, he would not have intended to gift his wardrobe to a museum or archive. His clothing was part of the contents of a trunk of papers offered by Kathleen Tynan to the British Library and purchased in 1995, suggesting that she, in her final month of life was sorting her and her dead husband's affairs (like Strong did after his wife's death in 2003). Because the Library had no need for the clothing, they were offered to and accepted by the V&A. The fact that the clothes were in a trunk of papers raises more questions than it answers: it is an intriguing combination of items to have in one personal storage item.

Tynan's collection of clothes at the V&A is not a complete wardrobe – 112 ob-

jects in total (and amongst those objects assigned an accession number is a pouch containing a pair of sunglasses). Missing are the colourful socks he loved wearing (Tracy remembers that even in financially straitened times he purchased brightly coloured, expensive silk socks. Oral testimony with the author, 07/04/17). His extravagant spending on fashion often caused marital arguments (Tynan in conversation with author, 07/04/17; see also Dundy in 'Reputations: Kenneth Tynan'. BBC Radio 2, 1982). There is no clothing from his earlier life, for example the green baize wool suit and gold satin-weave shirt he wore as a University student, or the sarong he wore towards the end of his life when in Mexico recuperating from ill-health (Tynan, 1988: 391); these were seemingly no longer extant. It is also worth noting that Tynan didn't choose which pieces Kathleen Tynan sold to the British Library in 1995 (Shellard, 2003: viii); within the trunk containing this ephemera were the garments that were eventually donated to the V&A. A number of the pieces are, in museum fashion collection contexts, good examples of menswear design, from the best designers of the time. But there are also many pieces of mediocre quality, which is, given the mission of the museum, an anomaly for a wardrobe housed within the V&A. I argue however, that worn, often damaged objects that do not always meet the museum's policy to collect the best in design (appendix 8) reflect the motivations for accessioning Tynan's wardrobe; that being, because of the biography and reputation of the man who wore them. This was a deliberate departure from V&A collecting policies, but (at the time) fashion curator Avril Hart and chief curator of the fashion and textiles department Valerie Mendes recognised the importance of Tynan's life-story and cultural influence, and the fact that menswear clothing was important to collect, and agreed with (former) V&A 20th century fashion curator Amy de la Haye to

accept the donation. Because of this, the Tynan collection is considered a "biographical" wardrobe.

Bal suggests that hindsight is often the only way to define the start of a collection, when 'a series of haphazard purchases or gifts suddenly becomes a meaningful sequence' (in Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 101). The "unknowing collector", who has a lack of awareness of themselves beginning to collect objects with a similar theme (or an anti-collection, i.e. a "collection" of disparate objects) can be viewed as a positive part of the process. Motivation in gathering a collection of objects and an initial lack of censorship or awareness that one is doing this are, Bal suggests, useful (in Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 102). She has reflected on the difficulty of defining collecting, especially where a collection starts or ends (in Elsner and Cardinal 1994: 100-101). They often begin by accident and lack initial conscious intent, "discovered" long after the owner had commenced the process, and then considered in hindsight. Bal described how 'I can imagine seeing collecting as a process consisting of the confrontation between objects and subjective agency informed by an attitude' (in Elsner and Cardinal 1994: 100). She describes collecting as a narrative in itself, with its own biography – a beginning, a middle and an end of sorts, although where it ends entirely depends on the collector and their intentions. This is relevant when asking whether I could consider Tynan and Strong "collectors". Baudrillard also interrogates ideas around when "collecting" actually becomes collecting, positing that, 'what makes a collection transcends mere accumulation is not only the fact of its being culturally complex, but the fact of its incompleteness, the fact that it *lacks* something' (in Elsner and Cardinal 1994: 23); which is to say, desired objects are shaped and formed within per-

sonal taxonomic ordering, precisely because of the individual's perspective and selection, however arbitrary. De la Haye suggested that a collection can never be completed in the lifetime of the collector because of this desire to find the next object (2018: 395).

So, what was I to make of Tynan's wardrobe now stored at the V&A? From research undertaken for this thesis, it is evident that he never would have considered himself a collector of anything, other than a small, disparate collection of art.[1] As far as gendered collecting practices are concerned, as Tynan fails to match many, if any collecting traits, his "non"-collecting inhibits a comparison of gendered behaviours beyond the ephemera and clothing stored in the trunk. What can be deduced from the wardrobe in the trunk is that he wore contemporaneous designer garments of the 1960s and '70s, which is the timeframe of the majority of the artefacts in the collection. There are seemingly no objects from an era earlier than 1965, although the dating of many pieces is curatorial assumption at the time of accession, based on fashion style, manufacture, and provenance: a systematic review of individual items in the collection has not taken place to ascertain exact dates.

I could deduce, going by the registry file information and my research into the dates of the garments that much of the wardrobe was purchased in the final 15 years of Tynan's life. Through 'staring steadily' (Lee, 2008: 105) and with modulated belief at the everyday stuff that surrounds or survives him – in this case the ties, shoes, jackets and accessories at the V&A – I uncovered extra insights into his life. What I concluded from the garments in the collection, including Nutter,

[1]Including a work by 1960s British artist Pauline Boty.

Dorso and Yves Saint Laurent suits and accessories, is that Tynan was also wearing, or at least purchasing, more readily available garments and cheaper options, such as the shirt by Mr Fish (analysed in chapter one). Analysing the V&A accession records reveals that there are no waistcoats in the collection, even as part of a suit ensemble: all are two-piece – jacket and trousers. This is a strong indicator of his preference for a simpler suited silhouette, without the traditional third item often worn with them. Colour is also very evident throughout the wardrobe – from the ties, to jackets and shirts. This comparison of the garments in the collection suggests a man comfortable with a particular style of dressing (stylish), at ease with mixing high-end and cheaper quality items with which to dress himself (pragmatic).

The next section also explores Strong's "non"-collecting practices, critically evaluating his repeated donations to the V&A and FMB to interrogate his intentions further, and suggesting "archival behaviour" as an alternative approach with which to consider his actions.

4.6 Roy Strong: archival behaviours

Whilst I surmise that Tynan was not a collector, Strong is emphatic in stating he was not. Given his assertion, it is important within this research to interrogate this. This is necessary not only to understand his intentions behind donating large swathes of his personal wardrobe of worn clothing to two museums. I also interrogate his perceptions of his clothes, to clarify how I describe his archival approach to the collection as a whole. The following MCA explores a Prince of

Wales check suit, by American designer Thom Browne that Strong donated in 2013 to FMB. It offers useful insights into a garment that very quickly turned from a fashionable ensemble in a personal wardrobe, to part of a biographical wardrobe collection in the FMB.

Thom Browne Prince of Wales wool check suit BATMC 2013.320.53 and A

Strong purchased this suit, in black and white wool check, in the autumn or winter of 2005. The jacket has a label cross-stitched to the inside left breast pocket stating that it was 'hand made in New York' for Harvey Nichols department store and is a size '3'. It is a "button 3, roll 2" style. There is cording ribbon stitched beneath the buttons. In the process of machine-stitching the button holes, the cording has been "chewed" by the machine, causing irregular stitches and frayed edges. The cuff button holes appear to be hand-stitched, and again, the cording has not fared well in the process. The jacket is lined in stretch technical fabric. There are rectangular patches on the elbows of the sleeves, the striped aligned to the arm fabric. The trousers are button fly, with square patches on the knee, a V-notch at the back waistband (giving more in waist circumference) and double darts at the front which are again distorted through the stitching process. The finishing described above suggests problems in manufacturing. The suit did not lie evenly on the table as I analysed it – it was lumpen in places and heavier in comparison to other suits of a similar style and material. The suit is effectively designed as a performance garment, similar to companies like outdoor clothing company Rohan. It appears to have been designed for a more active wearer, per-

haps for someone who cycles. The suit was worn for no more than seven years before Strong decided to donate it. It was purchased after he had started gifting clothes to the V&A and FMB.

Strong donated clothing from his wardrobe to the V&A collection in 1979, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1986, 2006 and 2007; and the FMB in 2006, 2009, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016 (and ongoing). At the end of 2005, he writes 'On the floor of the Archive Room [in his house in Herefordshire] now lies the only pile-up from the loft left, all my clothes since the 1960s. In January representatives from the V&A and the Museum of Costume at Bath come to take their pick. All is vanity!' (29 December 2005. Strong, unpublished diaries 2004-2015. See also V&A Registry file 86/1982). It is interesting to note Strong's reference to an archival room in his house. I suggest this supports the notion of archival tendencies, rather than outright collecting practices. Spreading garments across the floor, he constructed as many ensembles as he could remember wearing, assembling suits with shirts, ties and hats as he would have worn them. This included the suit he wore when he married Julia Trevelyan Oman, many Tommy Nutter suits, and large numbers of everyday items like socks, t-shirts, sportswear and accessories. Representatives from both museums visited Strong at his house on 14 February 2006 – from the V&A, Christopher Breward (at the time, head of research) and Sonnet Stanfill (curator of 20th century and contemporary fashion) and Rosemary Harden from FMB. I quote him at length as he describes the breadth of the collection, and the potential for further additions:

> …today was the great descent of the V&A Fashion Department and the Museum of Costume in Bath (now the Fashion Museum), all very nice young people. I spread the stuff out across the upper floor of the Stable

Figure 4.2: BATMC 2013.320.53 and A, Thom Browne Prince of Wales check two-piece suit (accessed FMB, 16/05/16)

> block: suits, appropriate shirts, ties, hats, etc., i.e. complete as I had worn them. It started with a pair of Vince of Carnaby Street bell-bottoms in a stretch fabric [T.21-2006], a unique survival, I was told, lots of King's Road 1965 to early 70s, especially from *Just Men*. My wedding suit by them I laid out complete. That was followed [by] lots of directorial gear from the V&A years, a long Tommy Nutter phase followed by Versace. Then a lot of stuff that I put in date order under hats, shirts, shoes, trousers, suits, etc. Much to my surprise they took the lot.
>
> Bath had really no men's clothes post my Blades suit given years ago. I think that they saw my stuff as a way of solving this, one gentleman of fashion's wardrobe over thirty to forty years. They carried away enough to mount an exhibition. In their case it will be ongoing as there's more stuff to come from here and they will need to consult the pictorial scrapbook evidence ('14 February 2006. St Valentine's Day and the clothes clear out.' Strong, unpublished diaries, 2004-2015).

In later email correspondence, curators Stanfill and Harden discussed the division of Strong's wardrobe, focusing on augmenting each Museum's collection of menswear, based on collecting policies. Preserved was 60 years of one man's wardrobe, split between two institutions, augmented by rich written documentation.

Harden remembers the importance of exploring the feasibility of accessioning Strong's wardrobe into the FMB collection. She regards him as an immensely important figure in the arts and museums, and curatorial practice, particularly in his ongoing support for the research of fashion histories (Harden, oral history with author, 09/06/17). He was chairman of the Costume Society from 1968 to 1974, and he championed the fashion and textiles department at the V&A (Wilcox, 2018: 436; 437; 440). This, the breadth of menswear brands and styles of clothing evidenced in the wardrobe, and the rich biographical detail that could be gleaned from Strong through his hand-written notes inserted into the pockets of many garments (figure 4.3) made for a strong proposal for inclusion into the collec-

tion. Harden also recognised that Strong's wardrobe would significantly augment the post-1970 menswear collection at FMB and assist in revealing potential omissions in the holdings for future attention. This accessioning was inspired by a case of considering what the museum had, what could be secured in the immediate future, and the long-term aims of the collection (Harden, oral history with the author, 09/06/17).

I had intended to explore Strong's history of "collecting" and the intentions behind his seemingly purposeful and systematic acquisition of a group of fashion objects stored in his loft. Given Strong's appreciation of fashion, his professional and academic background, and the fact he has donated over 1000 garments split between two museums, it initially seemed logical to regard him as a collector of fashion, or at least an expert of menswear. There are analogies to be drawn between him and the classic collector profile outlined previously. The fact that he described a room in his house as the 'Archive room' strongly indicates someone thinking along collecting lines (see Piggott, 2007, regarding the human desire to archive and tell stories). His personal interests in clothing and costume, and professional passions for dress – as a field that required research, attention and support as director of the V&A – combined with his understanding of the evocative and appealing nature of fashion to audiences within museum contexts, formed a picture of someone aware of the power of clothing to tell stories.

But my assumptions of Strong were disabused when he stated he never considered himself a collector (email correspondence with author, 20/06/16). In light of this, and given it is difficult to label someone a collector when they do not see themselves as such – however convincing their motivations and patterns of

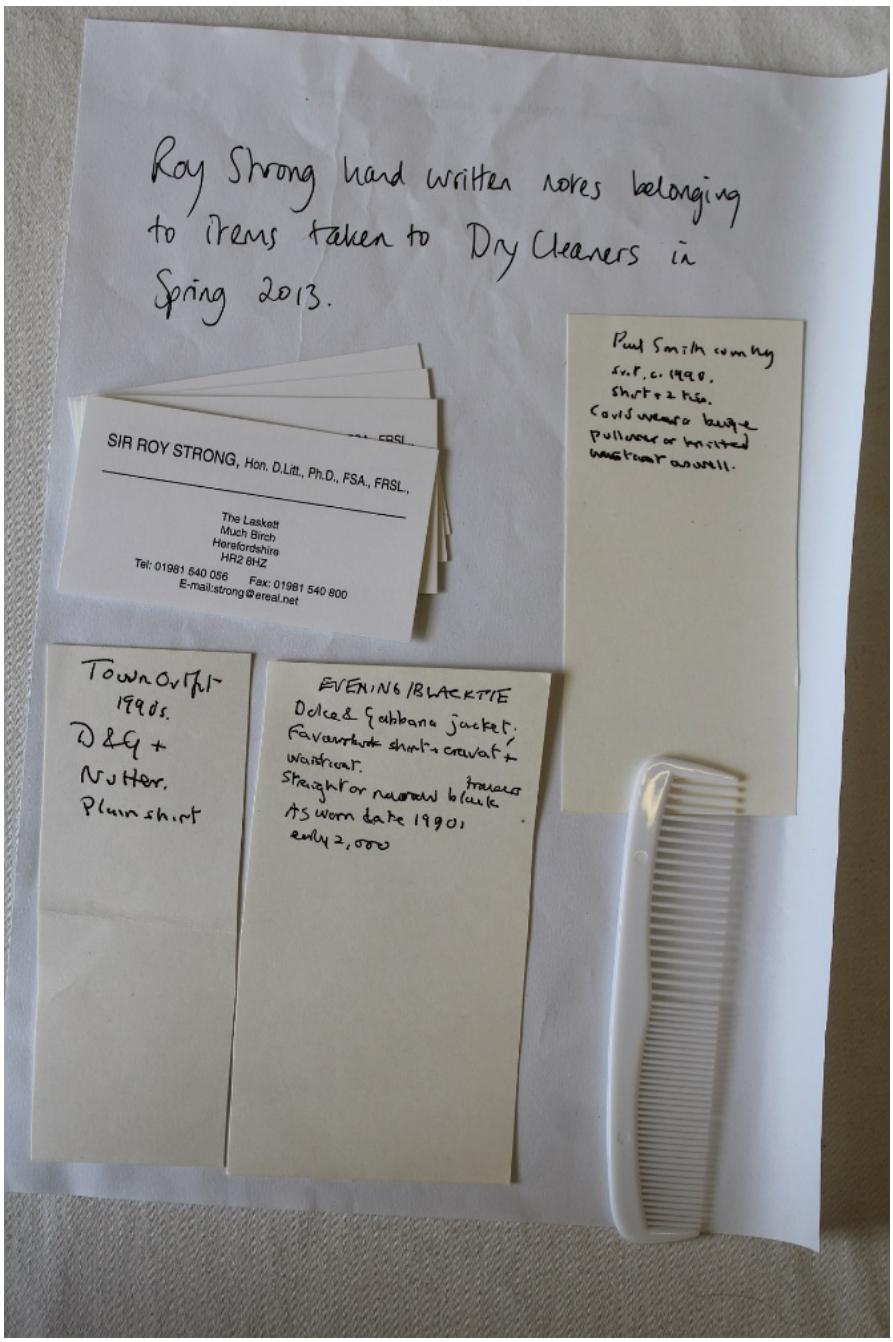


Figure 4.3: Examples of Strong's hand-written notes, and hair comb, found in the pockets of garments in his wardrobe at FMB (accessed FMB, 22/09/17)

accumulation may have been – I had to renegotiate my approach to his "non-collecting" and self-perceptions of his actions regarding his wardrobe. What emerged was a man who acquired clothing to wear, who developed a deep appreciation of the resonance and agency of clothing, and who, as a professional museum director and curator, possessed a respect for the power of archives and collections to tell stories from historical, cultural and social perspectives.

In the Western world, many people have expectations of what museums are from a very young age. They are cultural institutions, depositories of objects or ideas, supposedly of the "truth". The object, imbued with memory and now stored in a museum, takes on different meanings. Freud, Belk and Trustram have explored the notion of the 'demand for immortality' (Freud 1915 [1916]: 305; see Belk, 1995; Trustram, 2014: 77) when donating to museums. There is also the notion of being 'institutionally memorialized' (Belk 1995: 104). Strong was inspired by the sixteenth century German merchant, Mattäus Schwarz, who had hundreds of self-portraits painted depicting his wardrobe for posterity's sake (see Rublank et al., 2015), to donate his wardrobe to two museums (email correspondence with the author, 20/06/16). This must have given him satisfaction that he was contributing to a narrative of 20th century masculine attire in two museums' collections.

For Benjamin, the relationship between a true collector and their collection was close: 'ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them' (1968: 69). In *Reflections*, he stated 'To live means to leave traces' (Benjamin, 1978: 155). To understand Strong's imperatives better, I analysed the potential differences and sim-

ilarities between a conventional collector, and the story of a man who wore his clothes well, who loved them for the sense of style they offered him, and who constructed a public and private self-identity through them before donating them. Strong believed in the importance of understanding the objects surrounding someone's life, particularly fashion: as early as 1968 he stated 'You can learn fascinating things about a person from such details as whether his trousers were pressed, whether his shoes were worn down…' (Anon, *Telegraph*, 1970: n.p.). In 1978 he published an article on the importance of researching and displaying clothes in museums, describing how fashion is a true mirror of society (Strong, 1978: n.p.). He has described the objects that surround us as 'repositories of memory, of one's life expressed through an accumulation of things' (September 2005. unpublished Diaries, 2004-2015). Again, this reflects Strong's appreciation of archival practices.

It is this appreciation of the relevance of objects like fashion garments to an understanding of contemporary society and personal biography, and his awareness of the power of the materiality of clothing that makes Strong's story relevant to this research.[2] His understanding that his personal wardrobe might be of use to a museum to tell the story of one stylish and influential man's life in mid- to late-twentieth century British society, explains why, from the 1960s onwards he kept his clothing in plastic bags in his attic, awaiting dissemination somewhere, somehow: '…I was deliberately bagging stuff up and labelling and putting it in the loft working from the idea that someone would be interested in what one fashion conscious man wore during a period' (email correspondence with the author,

[2] The walls of Strong's home is covered in images, including paintings and drawings. But many of them are photographs, documents of his life with Trevelyan Oman, his professional life, and depictions of his public image.

21/06/16).

These deliberate acts and beliefs reveals a man accustomed, through his work as a museum director and curator, of the "weight" and potential importance of his wardrobe within a museum's framework to describe narratives of masculine lives in the 20th and 21st centuries. His legacy would be preserved. This informed my biographical understanding of Strong. He was someone keen to contribute to cultural capital, and a willingness, when asked, to donate large swathes of his personal wardrobe. In 2007, visiting Harden at the FMB to review what was the first cache of donated garments, Strong reflected how, in his mind, his wardrobe displayed masculine fashion trends in the UK at a particular time: the 'huge collars and very narrow shirts of the late 1960s with "kipper" ties, the narrow collared mid-1970s with thin ties and the expansion of the 1980s. Also the changes in colour and pattern: the *art nouveau* revival of the late sixties and the early Art Deco one in the mid-seventies' (16 May 2007. Strong, unpublished diaries 2004-2015). Visiting the FMB collection in 2012 and again in 2013, Strong again described how time was changing the impact of the garments as a whole: 'And then we saw a whole mass of my stuff hung on racks which was rather impressive. It had all grown in status since I had donated it' (30 May 2012. See also 15 April 2013. Strong, unpublished Diaries, 2004-2015). Strong's awareness of the "shift" in approach and perception to the garments now housed in a museum is reflective not only of his professional and curatorial insight, but the inflation of significance that takes place once an object is accessioned in an institution's collection. This too becomes part of its biography.

For Harden, Strong's wardrobe in the context of FMB presents a very personal

reflection on masculinities in the second half of the 20th and early 21st centuries. She and her staff have been able to capture stories of many of his garments, enabling them to explore, through clothing 'social history, economic history, technological history, gender studies, concepts of masculinity.… Because it's biographies, because it's people' (Harden, oral history with the author, 09/06/17). What is exceptional about Strong's wardrobe is the amount of information available to the researcher, including small white cards briefly detailing factual information (denotation) and memories of the objects (connotation) donated to the museums. These notes often include a year of purchase, information about how it was worn (with what colour and style of top, for example), and sometimes if it was a favourite item.

I now consider the question of who, or what is a collector? Reviewing Pearce, Elsner and Cardinal, Belk and Baudrillard's theories, and given Strong did not deem himself a collector, questions arise concerning his "non"-collecting practices. If the original owner of those artefacts did not deem themselves a collector of clothing, should I view it as a collection within the domestic space? Just because the artefacts are now stored within a museum, does that automatically deem it a collection? I don't believe in either case it does, because this limits debate around the nature of collections and collecting, which requires further analysis in the future.

Applying definitions of collecting to Strong's case helped me critically unpick his life-story. At some point he made an informed decision regarding his wardrobe, from wearing clothes that he had purchased to wear in a wide variety of situations to consciously gathering a group of artefacts and choosing to donate them

to two museums. This reinforces the notion of "archival behaviour" again (per Derrida, 1995). Journalist Prudence Glynn quoted Strong in 1974, and it highlighted a sympathetic ally of the V&A's fashion collection, someone who was aware too of cultural memory: 'Clothes are the mirror of society – of its idiosyncrasies and its characteristics. They reflect its aspirations and realities' (1974: n.p.). This is mirrored in his perceptions of his clothing, which changed over time: his garments became carriers of biographies, of histories that might be useful and accessible to future generations if they were stored and accessible within a museum. It is when his perceptions changed that is relevant (this will be explored further). Added to this, the museum as repository of collections, as educator of populations and as place for entertainment were factors of which Strong was very aware. This was the ideal environment in which to reinvest meaning in the objects through analysis and interpretation, with the opportunity to display garments in exhibitions, disseminating narratives surrounding his wardrobe, and entertaining audiences.

Elsner and Cardinal (1994) and Belk (1995) discuss the strategic nature of collecting, the underlying principles of classification that guide the practice over a period of time. Collectors often remove objects from original or intended contexts. According to these definitions, Strong was never a collector. This was not a case of a meaningful set of precious artefacts or 'pieces' losing their original context (Baudrillard in Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 22). Strong wore his clothes, and although he had special items for specific occasions in his wardrobe, during the time of wearing he was not, in his mind, sacralising objects or transforming them beyond their intended use. He was then storing garments in his attic to maximise

his use of domestic space; at the same time, as he was storing them he was also considering their future as objects for research, offering insights into one man's fashionable wardrobe. These donations, and given his background, his interest in fashion and training in art history, were in retrospect pre-meditated, with the intention of leaving a legacy for future generations of museum visitors and researchers.

Theoretical literature suggests there is a reason these things, like clothes, are part of the narrative of a person's life. Clothes are objects that are chosen by the subject to be worn, to be appreciated for their beauty or handled roughly in a utilitarian way (Strong wearing his Next blouson to a local market and garden sale, for instance). As noted previously, Strong aimed to construct a private and public identity through his wardrobe. He purchased limited edition pieces to wear as well as items from British high street stores, boutiques, and mid- and low-price level outlets across Europe and America.

Strong's decisions and beliefs betray his personal and professional interests and expertise, arriving at an informed perception within which decisions were made regarding the biography of the clothes in his attic. Consider the shift from a wardrobe of clothing to the realisation that a collection of garments can tell a story about personal life experiences, professional careers, private and public personas, and fashion histories and narratives of high street retail chains and high-end menswear designers. In hindsight, the value of the objects changes in the mind of the wearer: from passive to active engagement, with the emergence of the notion that these things, as a group, have the potential to tell stories. Also, as Strong notes, he realised he had to make a new life for himself after the death of

his wife, and the removal of his clothing was one way of generating this (email correspondence with author, 27/08/16). The act of clearing the attic takes on a metaphorical tone when applied to Reed's life-story and changing circumstances. His decision-making around his clothes offers a very different collecting narrative compared to Tynan and Strong, which is explored in the next section.

4.7 Mark Reed: collector

This section examines change, not only in how Reed's perception of his personal wardrobe shifted, but how it moved from the domestic, private space to a significant collection of menswear in two public museums, and becoming a post-private wardrobe. Reed neatly fits Baudrillard's notion of "collecting oneself into being". He sought to create an individual identity, and his tools were clothes. It should also be noted that, at the same time Reed was drawing together what was to become a collection of fashion garments, he was actively collecting art. From a biographical perspective, this influences my interpretation of his actions as a collector.

Compiling a biography of his family, *The Hare with the Amber Eyes*, de Waal described his research journey as literally 'writing my way into a collection' (unpublished conference paper, *The Lives of Objects*, 2013). In the same way, Reed was literally *wearing* himself into what was becoming a collection, relying on a fashion designer's vision to aide this construction of a masculine identity. He had the finances to purchase near to complete catwalk ensembles, and through MCA I noted he left designer tags attached to some garments in inconspicuous places

like the internal label (see figure 2.2). Only a few of the garments, such as the 18th century coats, were made specifically for him. This reflects Reed's desire to create a masculine identity that was pre-prescribed or vastly original. Through analysis of the MCA of his clothes and the object-based research I undertook, I argue this evidence describes his character as a life-story does: pieces of information are offered, and using assumption and interpretation, we gain insight into someone's biography through their behaviours and choices.

Purchasing fashion helped Reed, like many others, create, define and refine a public masculine identity for himself. Trying to source this new and interesting menswear emerging in the 1980s was challenging for him and, as described in chapter three, is integral to the telling of his life-story. By the early 1990s Reed's approach to shopping became a serious attempt to procure fashion ensembles that he had viewed in *Uomo Collezioni*: 'There was a definite pattern of trying to look at everything as quickly as possible and making a decision before sizes ran out. It was like "ok, I've got the coat from there, but I'm not sure about that [garment] so I'll go looking for shirts and shoes…"' (oral testimony with the author, 07/07/15).

I now examine Reed's encyclopaedic, completion-ist and intentional approach to his wardrobe (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). I make a comparison to pharmacist and collector Henry Wellcome, as it is productive to compare this type of behaviour to build a case. In the late 19th and early 20th century, Wellcome purchased objects that, on the surface, appeared similar, in order for comparisons to be made to detect subtle differences in design, production and materials, and to prove, or disprove, theories including evolutionary theory (Larson, 2010). The

practice of collecting objects with slight variable qualities, with which to compare and contrast, is at the heart of the collecting practice. In the same taxonomic way, Reed purchased many white shirts, even though he considered that one white Japanese-designed shirt (such as Yamamoto or CdG) to be similar in style and shape, therefore interchangeable with any other Japanese-designed shirt (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15). But through comparative MCA of a number of white shirts in his collection, subtle differences in design were evident, suggesting he was interested enough in these small variations in design to procure a number of them, reinforcing his taxonomic approach to dressing.

In his domestic space, Reed ordered his wardrobe starting with black outfits, moving through darker colours into lighter, with individual shirts at one end. Ensembles by one designer, or groups of clothing that he wore together tended to be placed on one hanger. This reflects a highly-attuned process, gathering representative objects in consecutive order. His preference was, and still is, for fashion that is 'structured, formal, has historical references, but could be quite sombre, rather than something contemporary, casual, colourful and loud and noticeable. Certainly, there's an awful lot of black [and charcoals] in the wardrobe [at the V&A]…' (oral testimony with the author, 06/11/14). I argue this careful organisation and colour sequencing of garments which, to the untrained eye, may appear similar in style and silhouette, intentionally hanging together, strongly suggests Reed's ordered behaviours, and a keen consideration of his wardrobe as a collection, even in the domestic space.

Taking the idea of purchasing seemingly similar garments further, the biography of the collection takes on more powerful interpretations when the subtlety of the

object is analysed more closely. As Wilcox noted when considering Reed:

> A collection of objects is only significant if it adds value to our understanding of fashion history, and if it is useable in some sense. So, you could get very abstract and you could say that [Reed's] memory of those two shirts is equally valuable, but without the shirts as material evidence it is so intangible, we would have difficulty using it. But when we have the actual shirts in our hands… they begin working hard for their money. They don't take up much space, but they have a lot to say. That's why I do love the fashion clothing objects, because generally, if you think about a shirt on a hanger, and how much space it takes up in a wardrobe, but how many memories it… can pack in, and how significant it can be to our understanding of the history of menswear. Then, you begin to see how a humble shirt can operate on many levels and give us many layers of information (oral testimony with the author, 22/01/15).

The act of purchasing a series of what superficially appears to be similar-looking white shirts, takes on other meanings when the subtlety of the design is amplified through comparison and in the museum's records. When analysed by researchers in a place like the Clothworker's Centre, or displayed as part of an ensemble, they begin, in Wilcox's words, to "work hard for their money" in terms of interpretation and display.

At what point did Reed commence "collecting" men's clothing created by significant menswear designers working in, or selling to, the Western market? Belk described how 'collections seldom begin purposefully' (in Pearce, 2003: 318), that they often begin by accident and lack initial conscious intent. He stated: 'In a sense, many collections are "discovered" by their creators long after the materials have been gathered' (in Pearce, 2003: 318). This goes some way in explaining Reed's collecting trajectory. He was collecting art at the same time that he was drawing together a collection of fashion garments: his collecting behaviours were developing. At some point, I believe by the mid- to late-2000s (going by various

oral testimony sessions with him, particularly 06/11/14 and 14/04/15), he made an intentional decision to select garments from his wardrobe, and donate specific ensembles to the V&A. There is a point when he moved from a man wearing his clothes, to someone consciously collecting a group of artefacts that he often wore, and then choosing to gift these objects. This also parallels Ian Woodward's and Wilcox's ideas noted earlier, of the journey of a garment of clothing, from purchase, to wardrobe, to institutional collection.

Reed didn't start as a collector, but his habits soon took on the appearance of one. Wilcox notes, 'You could argue that all of us have collections of clothing; we might not call them collections; we might not call them a wardrobe, but we definitely collect, we discard, we collect. And that's the nature of clothing, the nature of fashion, and the nature of the individual's relationship with their personal clothing' (interview with author, 22/01/15). Attending exhibitions and his educational background and creative interests gave Reed an awareness of museums as repositories of objects. He was cognisant of the role these institutions have in collecting, organising, interpreting and displaying fashion. He was aware of the breadth of the V&A's fashion collection through the permanent fashion gallery and occasional exhibition visits. It is worth noting that a number of fashion exhibitions (or exhibitions that featured fashion) were held at the V&A before and during the years Reed was negotiating with Stanfill about his donation. Exhibitions included *Magnificence of the Tsars* (2008), exploring the fashions and uniforms of the Russian court from the 1720s onwards, and *Yohji Yamamoto* (2011), featuring the Japanese designer's oeuvre (including menswear). Wilcox notes that 'exhibitions trigger donations' from potential benefactors (interview with

author, 22/01/15) and although he lived in France at the time these exhibitions were staged, and can't remember visiting them (oral testimony with the author, 22/02/18), I noted that in different ways both exhibitions reflected his personal interests in fashion design, from the historical to the contemporary. I argue that Reed's decisions and actions suggest that he was, as suggested by Wilcox, exhibiting very clear collecting practices, whether he was aware of this or not.

Reed was also in a relationship by 2000. Wishing to make a new life with his partner in France, they purchased a house and moved the same year. His remaining personal wardrobe is now split across residences in England and France. Reed currently purchases very little designer menswear, as he doesn't believe his lifestyle demands it: in his words, his shopping habits for clothes have 'toned down' since his move to France (oral testimony with the author, 23/10/15). In addition, once he noticed moth holes appearing in many of the garments, he realized he had to do something about it. At the same time he intended to downsize his wardrobe. This reinforces the notion that dress is contingent on practicality, time, and place. In his mind, it made sense to gift a sizeable wardrobe to a museum, and where the garments could be cared for properly as his life was changing.

As described previously, Reed was very particular about his clothing, and how he wore an ensemble. This approach to his clothing is sympathetic to his approach to his wardrobe as a whole. He cared for the clothing enough to consider a museum as a suitable and long-lasting repository for them; a place where they would be kept safe forever. He was also beginning to understand the power of his wardrobe – or, as he began to think of it, a collection of clothing – in telling

socio-cultural and biographical stories.

A level of pragmatism was also seeping into Reed's thinking. He reasoned he was never going to wear many of the items in his wardrobe again, given his new country lifestyle in France, so he offered them to first the V&A, then FMB. There are 113 accession listings on the V&A collection records. Approximately 58 of the listings include a number of ensembles (more than one artefact). FMB has 92 listings, of which 59 include more than two items, as well as individual objects. The next section explores the shift of Reed's clothing worn and stored in a domestic space to that of two publicly-available wardrobes of masculine dress in two museums holding world-leading fashion collections.

4.8 "Letting Go"

This section explores the timeline of Reed's donation of his personal wardrobe to two museums, and interrogates his intentions and thinking behind this act, principally through analysis of oral testimony. The question is: what do his ideas of collecting tell us about him as a person, his relationship with dress as an integral part of his daily life, and ultimately of his life-story? The negotiations between Reed and the V&A commenced slowly in 2009. Stanfill remembers he phoned her unexpectedly to discuss his proposal of donating a sizeable collection of leading men's fashion of the late 20th century (oral history with the author, 02/06/16). During the phone conversation, she asked the obvious questions a curator would wish to know: which designers were represented, dates, how many pieces. 'I knew right away that this was really important, really exciting' (Stanfill,

oral history with the author, 02/06/16). As she needed to see the garments, Reed sent photographs of himself wearing every ensemble, assembled as he would have worn it, including the shoes if he still had them. From the photographs, Stanfill worked with Oriole Cullen (Curator of Modern Textiles and Fashion, V&A) to select approximately 50 ensemble from the nearly 100 on offer. 'We had a view on what we thought we would like to take, but of course we would want to see the condition' (Stanfill, oral history with the author, 02/06/16). Stanfill and Cullen visited Reed's home in France to secure the final selection. A few months later (by this time, 2011) a second visit was scheduled for Suzanne Smith (Clothworkers' Centre Manager) to collect chosen garments. Each trip to Reed's house lasted only 24 hours: V&A staff arrived, undertook selection or packing, and left the next day. The process was, as Stanfill notes, a group effort in curatorial decision-making that lasted approximately six months. This was a relatively rapid response to the accessioning process.

It was Stanfill's intention to gather as much information about the wardrobe as possible. Given the very short timeframes they had with Reed during the actual selecting and collecting trips to France, there was only so much that could be gleaned from the biographies of each object. Included in the registry number for the CdG ensemble (T.45:1-6-2011) is a moth-damaged waistcoat. He does not remember wearing it with this ensemble. He believes that the waistcoat would likely have been on the same hanger as the ensemble when the garments were collected from his house in France, hence an assumption was made that it formed part of the ensemble. Reed was not at the house at the time of collection, which may explain this mistake. He is clear in his mind that he wore this waistcoat with

other CdG outfits, but probably not with the boiled wool ensemble. It is worth reflecting on the biography of objects post-accession. The waistcoat now forms part of an ensemble the donor does not believe he would have worn with it (he doesn't believe the colours of the waistcoat would coordinate with the shirt). The V&A's accession records reflect a different story. These records are easy to amend. This "mistake" is either a lapse of memory on Reed's part, or a miscommunication with the V&A's curators who chose and collected the ensemble. It causes me to reflect on how easily post-accession biographies can change in the museum context, and the value therefore of gathering the donor's own recollections of an ensemble, as I did through oral testimony with Reed, capturing an element of the narrative that would otherwise never be uncovered.

From Stanfill's perspective as V&A curator, there are guidelines that influence curatorial decision-making when assessing potential acquisitions such as Reed's. As the V&A Collections Policy notes, one of the priorities for the fashion collection is to 'proactively pursue contemporary material' (January 2015, accessed 09/11/16). Stanfill stated it was 'important to collect designers whose work wasn't represented, or very well represented…' (oral history with the author, 02/06/16). She gave an example of Versace, whose oeuvre, thanks to the designer's own generosity and Strong's donations, was generally well represented within the collection. But the Museum held very little of the richly-coloured, ornate Baroque-inspired patterned pieces that prominently featured in Versace's men's and womenswear collections of the 1990s. Stanfill saw Reed's wardrobe offering opportunities to preserve this type of men's clothing popular in the 1990s (oral history with the author, 02/06/16).

The personal photographs that Reed took, that now form part of the V&A registry information of each ensemble, are images he showed the curators to highlight ways he wore different items from his wardrobe: hair slicked back, coats strategically buttoned, sometimes to highlight a lean silhouette, or show a shiny belt buckle. Reed sent them to me between oral testimony interviews, to gain a better understanding of the process of the V&A accession. The photographs are not good quality; they were never intended to be anything more than reference, a visual guide for V&A curators to imagine the ensemble in the Museum's collection. Some of them illustrate records of Reed's clothing on the publicly-available V&A online catalogue. The images were originally private, but are now public. The audience has changed – from the private to the public.

Figure 4.4: Reed wearing a Versace white wool and fur overcoat and trousers (T.32:1–2011) outside his residence in France. © Mark Reed

She viewed his donation as an opportunity to capture outfits from many of the influential Western menswear designers of the 1990s and early 2000s, who influenced British design and fashionable style, and who were available to purchase in this country, adding a socio-economic element to the biography of this wardrobe.

Another of Stanfill's considerations was that, from a curatorial perspective, 'having things that would display well' was important (oral history with the author, 02/06/16). Displaying black garments in an exhibition context is often difficult, as the tone absorbs light and detail can be lost. Reflecting Wilcox's considerations, Stanfill noted it is becoming increasingly imperative for the V&A that 'each outfit that comes in, it has to work really hard to earn its keep. It has to be useful for display and exhibition, and one has to be able to imagine it serving that role, of being really a useful resource to draw on for exhibitions' (oral history with the author, 02/06/16).

Another priority outlined in the V&A Collections Policy is to prioritise 'items of fashion which reflect topical issues generated by social, economic or political concerns' (V&A Collection Policy, January 2015, accessed 09/11/16). This is significant to my thesis. Stanfill notes that Reed's wardrobe offered some important pieces of contemporary menswear, including items that are considered seminal for their symbolic representation of religious or political perspectives. Kavanagh states the positioning of personal and institutional imperatives in gathering a group of objects together means that collecting can only be political on some level (LCF student workshop, 05/06/17). Edwards reinforces this politicised notion when considering how masculine dressing is interconnected with gender, social class, sexuality and race (1997: 100).

The fact that Tynan, Strong and Reed all took the time to dress, sometimes very elaborately, in different guises and for different audiences, counters the historically perceived stereotype of women's preoccupation with spending a significant time dressing. These men run counter to this trend. I began to view Tynan, Strong and Reed's particular dressing practices as reflecting elaborate routines evident in masculine fashion histories. This introduces the notion of dressing as statement; in this instance, political statements made by men through their clothing in the 1960s and '70s, asserting a sense of individual expression focused on identity – who they were as men, and how they wished to be perceived. In the light of Edwards's account, the following ensemble, through design, through wearing, and through being part of Reed's wardrobe and now institutionalised in the V&A, is a very political statement.

Jean-Paul Gaultier ensemble (V&A: T.58:1-6, 8-2011)

The potential for the politicisation of dress is exemplified in this ensemble by Gaultier, who designed a womenswear collection titled *Rabbi Chic* for autumn/winter 1993-94 that featured menswear. The collection was based on the masculine attire of the Hasidic Jewish religion. Models walked a narrow runway wearing fake-fur versions of the *Shtreimel* (broad, flat hats with fur wrapped around the brim), and *payot* curls at the ears. The collection was described as one of the most controversial catwalk presentations of the previous three decades (Ealy, 2015). Fashion journalist Suzy Menkes reflected, nearly 20 years later, on the shocked and uncomfortable reaction the collection received from the fashion industry and media (2011: 22; see catwalk report, Spindler, 1993). This outfit features a double-

Figure 4.5: V&A: T.58:1-6, 8-2011 John Paul Gaultier, menswear autumn/winter 1993-4 (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 18/09/14)

breasted overcoat comprising separate panels in different materials (wool, velvet, acrylic, polyester and acetate). The pieces are individually coloured, from black velvet, to deep black or blue wool/acetate, and lined in green. The right front panel is cut away beneath the waist buttons (see figure 4.5). The ensemble presented on the catwalk included the faux-fur *Shtreimel* hat, slender black trousers, a cropped waistcoat, a knitted and fitted mock-neck jersey, and a white cotton shirt with long collar straps that wrap around the torso. (See Youtube channel video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVeSDyERCaI between 0:18 and 0:33 minutes [accessed 09/11/16].)

Figure 4.6: John Paul Gaultier, menswear autumn/winter 1993-4 catwalk presentation

Figure 4.7: *Uomo Collezioni*, Autumn/Winter 1993-4: 215

The materiality found on these garments includes missing buttons from the cropped waistcoat which are stored in the pocket, indicating wear and tear through use.

Reed wore the ensemble with the faux-fur *Shtreimel* hat and remembers receiving comments from passers-by on the street.

> You're walking along the street in this, [they're] very noticeable.… I remember one day I was walking back to my place in Little Venice and two particular comments – one, this big guy, said "you look amazing! I just had to say, you look really amazing!" It's like, thank you! And there was an older woman who said, I knew relatives who dressed like that, [and they]

> died in the gas chambers (oral testimony with the author, 15/04/15).

There was an element of risk-taking for Reed in adorning a very culturally-charged style of dress, laden with religious and cultural meaning. The response to Gaultier's collection is evidence of this. Risk-taking in dress has been explored from the perspective of masculinities as a discipline (Robinson, 2014). I believe the fact that this ensemble is in Reed's collection at the V&A shifts our perception of his wardrobe and collection as a whole, and offers insights into his life-choices, and willingness to take risks when dressing. He presumed that wearing an ensemble heavily influenced in design and silhouette by a conservative and traditional Jewish religion would evoke a response – which it did. This statement of intent reflects an experimentation with different identities as a young man, using gender and socio-cultural belief systems to challenge others, and himself, to perceive him in different ways.

Did Stanfill see Reed's objects as a collection, or one man's wardrobe? 'Initially when he contacted me, I saw them as a wardrobe – he's a young man, he's buying them, he was wearing them, and some of them were favourites of his. But some of them – it's almost like the act of possession was in the purchase, not in the wearing' (Stanfill, oral history with the author, 02/06/16). For her,

> You kind of get the sense [that]… he wasn't interpreting it, he wasn't mixing and matching, he wasn't making it his own, he was very faithful to the designer's prescription in terms of how he bought it, and how he [donated] it. And so… we tried to keep everything as an ensemble as he purchased it … if he said "I wore this shirt with that outfit", then that is how we accessioned it (oral history with the author, 02/06/16).

Stanfill believes this stems from Reed's 'deep admiration for the creative impulse.… I think he got inside the heads of the designers in some way by buying

Figure 4.8: V&A: T.58:1-6, 8-2011 John Paul Gaultier, *Rabbi Chic* collection, menswear autumn/winter 1993-4. *Shtreimel* hat with detachable *payot* faux-fur curls (accessed Clothworker's Centre, 07/05/15)

and wearing. He was full of admiration for certain designers and what they proposed' (oral history with the author 02/06/16). This would have appealed to the decisions made about accessioning this ensemble to the V&A collection. By purchasing complete or near-complete outfits, he was reflecting the behaviours of another individual who donated outfits to the V&A, Lady Ritblat (de la Haye et al., 1998). Stanfill believes there are similarities to the approaches to their personal wardrobes, including a shift in thinking when it came to their clothing, from the private, personal wardrobe, to the public sphere and collections. Again, it reflects Reed's choices, as a young man, to explore different masculine identities through clothing, as described in chapter one.

In Stanfill's mind, Reed was 'definitely ready' to donate this collection (oral history with the author, 02/06/16). She remembers there was one outfit in particular that he retained 'for sentimental value… which was the outfit that he wore when he met his partner…. He wore that at an event at the V&A. So he, in a way, thought of the V&A first because he was wearing [that outfit]…. So, the V&A is very special to him for that reason…. [and] he can imagine donating it one day' (oral history with the author, 02/06/16). After the Museum had selected the pieces for the collection, it is clear, evidenced by his next move that Reed was prepared to let go of the remaining pieces. They were offered to the FMB in the same year. From a practical perspective, Reed's move to the countryside of France means that there were few, if any, places for him to wear many of his outfits. Stanfill remembers, 'when we met him the first time [in France], he was wearing a cashmere jumper with a hole in it. It's like the country gentleman. So – a very different life' (oral history with the author, 02/06/16).

The choices the V&A curators made in collecting specific ensemble of Reed's reflect an institutional approach to collecting, based on museum policy and professional experience. What was selected represents approximately a third of that originally offered to the Museum. Reed's response to the curators only selecting a portion of his wardrobe suggests someone not concerned with the conception of it as a "whole" collection, something to remain complete. He discussed the fate of the remaining wardrobe with Stanfill, who suggested contacting FMB. He offered the rest of the collection to the FMB. This suggests a sanguine, reasoned approach to its future, contrasted with his awareness of it as a developing collection in his private, domestic space.

Reed's donation to FMB followed a similar path initially. He phoned Harden at the Museum and, filling the back of his car with the remaining garments, drove to Bath and agreed to leave the pieces for further consideration. He states he was pragmatic about what they kept and what they rejected (oral testimony with the author, 22/02/18). He asked that whatever Harden chose not to accession should be donated to a charity. On being shown photographs of the two rails of clothing in store 12 at FMB, Reed was amazed at the volume of clothing they chose (oral testimony with the author, 22/02/18).

I contend that Reed, by virtue of the fact he gifted pieces from his wardrobe to two institutions could be deemed, as I term it, a "sub-conscious collector". Over a decade, from the late 1990s to the late 2000s, his collecting "gene" developed, correlating with the period he was purchasing and wearing designer fashion. Intention grew, as he purchased individual items to go with specific ensembles, or complete (or as near to complete) catwalk "looks" by menswear designers. In many

respects, he reflects Pearce's definition of collecting existing as a practice because 'its owner thinks it does...' (Pearce, 1998: 3). This goes some way in explaining Reed's collecting trajectory. His donations pinpoint the moment when he moved from a man simply wearing his clothes, to a man consciously considering a group of artefacts (designer men's clothing) that he often wore, as part of a wardrobe "collected into being." This parallels Ian Woodward's theory and Wilcox's definition described previously, in how the biography of one person's objects becomes significant when it is moved into another context, such as being accessioned into a museum's archive. The biography of a garment moves from a utilitarian garment (a commodity) to adorn the body that was, perhaps, perceived differently by the wearer and immersed in a personal biography; it then became an artefact accessioned into a museum collection that, through this action, is imbued with cultural significance (Woodward, 2012: 29; Wilcox, 22/01/15).

Reed's collecting habits bring to mind Benjamin's thoughts on collecting – the reality of acquisition is always predicated in randomness, where the relationship of the collector to the object is beyond functional or the ideal of system and order. Benjamin stated that 'Every passion borders on the chaotic, but the collector's passion borders on the chaos of memories' (1968: 61-2). At first, these artefacts were part of Reed's wardrobe. Over time, he came to see the individual items within a whole: a collection, where he referred to individual items as 'pieces.' The considered researching and purchasing of ensembles over a number of fashion seasons suggests Reed was not a "chaotic" collector (Benjamin, 1968: 62). Certainly he had a relationship with the objects in both museums' collections, focusing on his memories of reviewing *Uomo Collezioni*, purchasing

them, wearing them in specific ways to events and places, and finally his change in circumstances (moving to France and a different perspective towards living) and the decision to gift the garments. Belk's notion that 'Our self-definition is often highly dependent upon our possessions' (Belk, in Pearce, 2003: 321) aptly expresses Reed's relationship with his wardrobe. From a collecting perspective, he notes that the process of acquiring clothes 'was obviously never self-consciously done that way…' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). In his mind 'I think clothing is so sub-conscious [as a] decision. Putting together an art collection, or buying a house or a car, they seem very conscious decisions. But clothing, seems to go a bit deeper into the psyche. It's so much more intimate' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). The pattern of purchasing garments, sometimes not even wearing them, retaining store labels and wearing items with tags still attached, I suggest presents a character who was sub-consciously reflecting on his wardrobe as more than just clothes to wear.

Therefore, I contend these ensemble were intimate portraits of Reed's very purposeful construction of masculine identities, dependent on what influenced him from socio-cultural and pop cultural perspectives. He purchased garments, wearing them and considering his purchases carefully. I argue this was an act of sub-conscious collecting. As he notes, when purchasing garments, 'the conscious decision is to go on, put [the] credit card on the table, but the reason you find yourself there in the first place is much more hidden and mysterious' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). For him the purchases focused on the material object, rather than buying into a brand. He states: 'Looking for clothing – it was a physical object, rather than the company iconography that was important' to him

(oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15). Reed's relationship to the branding and dialogue surrounding clothing has shifted over the past 20 years; decrying the "hyper"-branding of designers' work signifies a shift in his perception of clothing: 'It's no longer a designer, no longer a human being. It's a brand, it's a corporate identity. I think the clothes are different as a result' (oral testimony with the author, 07/05/15).

Stanfill believes Reed wanted the collection to be actively used, 'referenced, researched, displayed, so it wouldn't just be sitting in a cupboard, and that [his] purchase[s] would have a meaning' (oral history with the author, 02/06/16). She informs Reed whenever an outfit or object is displayed in the Museum. An Alexander McQueen coat (T.90:1, 2-2011) is on display in the Fashion Gallery, and Romeo Gigli (T.30:1 to 4-2011), Dolce e Gabbana (61:1 to 4-2011) and Armani suits (T.106:4-2011) were selected by Stanfill to feature in the exhibition she curated at the V&A, *The Glamour of Italian Fashion 1945 – 2014* (2014). Reed's collection is listed as a recent significant acquisition of 20th century clothing in the V&A Collection Policy (January 2015: 22).

Through contextualising his wardrobe, in the city he chose to live in at the time, in the house in Little Venice, in the social milieu, the fine art he chose to purchase and surround himself with, the music he played, and his move to France, Reed created a world where he effectively collected himself into being. Baudrillard's notion, repeated to reinforce the argument, that 'it is invariably *oneself* that one collects' (in Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 12) amplifies this sense that the garments Reed was purchasing reflected aspects of his personality and construction of his identity.

4.9 Conclusion

To re-phrase my initial question: can an understanding of the wardrobe as a group of garments, through MCA of the individual objects and comparative understanding of them as a group, inform our understanding of someone's life-story? Through the wardrobe of menswear a subject like Reed purchased and wore, he slowly brought together a collection of 'pieces' that, in time, were donated to two museums. This, and the investment of time researching and gathering a diverse wardrobe, wearing complete or near complete catwalk ensembles, presents an enlightening picture of him as ordered and systematic in his behaviours. It also presents a portrait of an enthusiastic consumer of popular culture, engaged with a burgeoning youth-focused media, purchasing designer menswear clothing to own something that was, in his mind, original and desirable. Reed was purposefully constructing a number of masculine identities, using his love for designer menswear as a means to reflect this.

As the theorists I interrogated, including Benjamin, Baudrillard, Pearce, Belk and Bal asserted, the actions of collecting are simultaneously ordered and chaotic. I used Pearce's research into gendered collecting to highlight the difficulty of defining a masculine approach to gathering a wardrobe of clothing in the early 21st century. I contend that Reed's acts of collecting a wardrobe of menswear can be likened to Baudrillard's idea of collecting oneself into being. Assembling catwalk ensembles fits demonstrates Reed's desires, and the ordered nature of a collector. I argue that this corroborates my claim that clothing collections provide a biographical roadmap to understanding someone's life-story.

Just as Reed's actions reinforce the notion of collecting as reflective of personal behaviours, so Tynan and Strong's "anti-" collecting practices complicate received ideas of how the practice can be defined, and how this defines them as human beings. Applying theorists' work like Baudrillard and Bal to Tynan's "non-" collecting approach to his wardrobe situates his approach to a wardrobe of clothing that was used heavily for a purpose: to dress himself. This, I contend, presents a profile of a pragmatic thinker, yet someone who was willing to shock and antagonise with his colourful clothing, just as he did with his contentious writing. Strong's professional museological background presents a character of complicated intentions. His vanity, and his appreciation of clothing resulted in a person seeing his wardrobe as more than just that. But, he did not define himself as a collector. The theorists I analysed (Baudrillard, Belk, Elsner and Cardinal) demand of the collector an intention to gather a group of things together. Strong did not display these tendencies. The best model of behaviour I sourced was that he presented archival behaviours regarding his wardrobe, because his professional perspectives led him to donate to two world-leading fashion collections. This approach aided my construction of a life-story of someone passionate about clothes and the power of museums to reflect socio-cultural insights.

Interrogating my notion of "post-private" wardrobes, understanding how these men's intentions (or otherwise) for their clothes moved from the private, personal wardrobe to a public institution presented a way of thinking through this exchange. From physical construction, to socio-cultural, economic and historical perspectives and politically-charged perceptions of dress, it is also evident how museum collection policies influence motivations behind what is collected, and

how.

I contend that the clothes Tynan, Strong and Reed wore do "tell" stories of their lives as collections, regardless of the intention of the donor. They are beholden to, and are imbued with, the memories of these men. As groups of objects they reveal information that amplifies our understanding of elements of their life-choices. In this chapter I argued for an acknowledgement of how the stories of Tynan, Strong and Reed's wardrobes are imbued with their memories as groups of things. As collections of objects they reveal information that offer rich biographical insights when analysed and compared through MCA, in tandem with object-based research.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In 1984 Roy Strong entered one of the recently relaunched Next clothing and lifestyle stores in Victoria, London. He tried on a duck-egg blue blouson and bought it. Three years after buying it, between April 24 and 27, 1987, he and Trevelyan Oman visited their friend, Gianni Versace, at his home on Lake Como, Italy. There is a photo of Strong, in Versace's garden, wearing the blouson, with a white polo shirt, pale chino trousers with black belt, and white fringed slip-on shoes. In one image Strong stands at the base of an external staircase, looking up to the photographer (perhaps it is Julia), appearing stylish and relaxed in his outfit.

On 04 June 1988, four years after purchasing the blouson, Strong was in a very different context than a holiday with Versace – a plant sale in Weston-under-Penyard, Herefordshire, not far from his home (figure 2.12). With eyebrows raised and smiling, he looks content with his haul of plants contained in a Walker's Crisps cardboard box. His patterned shirt is open at the neck, and large round glasses perch at the end of his nose. Strong's hair is steel grey, in a classic side-swept fringe style.

Whether in public or private, formal or informal, in the visual analysis I undertook for this research, his hair was always neat and tidy; but, exceptionally, in this image it is dishevelled. It is an informal look, Strong at ease after twenty years of intensive museum directorships and media scrutiny.

13 years after purchasing the blouson, on 23 May 1997, there are photos in his scrapbooks of Strong showing guests Geordie Grieg (magazine and newspaper editor) and his wife Kathryn around The Laskett garden, wearing the Next blouson with a purple top by Versace, and black trousers, possibly also by the same designer. The ensemble is fashionable for the '90s, the duck-egg blue and purple contrasting with the black trousers. His hair is cut in a layered style to the nape of the neck, swept away from his face. With arms folded across his chest, Strong offers a benign expression to the photographer. By this date, the blouson was near the end of its worn biography. Given the number of times Strong wore the garment, by this stage in its life it would have shown signs of wear, around the collar, cuffs and probably the elbow. Oral testimony and textual analysis reveal that it was one of his favourite garments, something he felt he could wear with everything, in private or in public.

Introducing each chapter with these creative texts (based on textual analysis and oral testimony) as I did throughout this thesis, positioned Tynan, Strong or Reed in a place and time, within which they wore particular garments that I analysed. This was a deliberate strategy intended to place the biography of the clothes at the forefront of my interdisciplinary research. It also reflected my working practice, to explore objects through descriptive writing in order to understand them better. Re-reviewing findings from textual analysis and MCA of the Next blouson reinforces the importance of embedding MCA in my proposed biograph-

Figure 5.1: Strong wearing the Next blouson, visiting Gianni Versace's house, Lake Como, 1987. From Strong's scrapbook 'XXVI. 1987. April-July' (accessed 16/12/15)

Figure 5.2: Strong wearing the Next blouson at The Laskett, Herefordshire, with Geordie and Kathryn Grieg. From Strong's scrapbook 'XXVI. 1997. April-July' (accessed 16/12/15)

ical and object-based research framework. Strong wore some of his clothing for only two or three years; others, like the blouson, he wore in many different places and contexts for two decades. His conscious vanity and his love of fashion is well-documented, but his regard for certain garments, worn time and again, evidenced in the wear and tear, suggests another side to his character, one that has not been documented. What emerges is a narrative of someone who appreciated well-designed clothing (not necessarily high-priced), who loved many of his garments and wore them for comfort or design appeal, and who cared for things he loved (evidenced in the repairs). Through MCA of his clothes, these insights enhance what is known of Strong's life-story, pointing towards, I propose, a more nuanced biographical portrait.

I argue the imprint of these men's bodies on their clothing is evidential proof of their life-stories, which in turn contributes to biographies of the clothes. Through MCA and object-based research, these objects revealed the *wearing* of individual

garments, the physical impact Tynan, Strong and Reed's bodies had on them, and the impact external forces such as the objects they moved around every day had on them. Reed's memories of the feeling of cloth against his body – such as the Gigli suit with the music manuscript in the back pocket – is part of this layering of research methods to develop texture and depth to someone's life-story. I detailed how life-choices and patterns of behaviour could be inferred from the frequency something was worn, and how this expanded my understanding of these men's lives.

I purposefully used Reed to test my research framework. The act of keeping proof – of a garment, a hotel room receipt, a concert ticket – is a way of remembering life events. I assert that the information I uncovered through MCA, and studying the ephemera in pockets, greatly informed my insight into these men's lives. I emphasised how enriching the biography of an object such as clothing, from the physical materiality to the imagery of the thing, can enrich the lives of those who wore them. I consider someone's clothing as fundamental evidence of their life-trajectory.

Fashion studies has rarely touched upon the materiality of masculine dress, masculine attire as material culture, or addressed men's life-stories through the clothes they wear, discard, preserve or leave behind. The methodological framework of this thesis has conflated MCA, oral history and testimony, textual analysis, all the while privileging clothing as evidence in the construction of a life-story. The analytical understanding of the materiality of the clothing worn by these men illuminated substantive proof, as well as offering more emotive, subtle narratives. This enriches our understandings and nuanced interpretations of Ken

Tynan, Roy Strong and Mark Reed's lives. I suggest this comprises my core contribution to the knowledge and interpretation of menswear and men's lives, notably within the discipline of fashion studies, whilst recognising its applications within museology and curatorship. Interweaving the object, theory and research together through each chapter augmented the methodology and research framework, rather than presenting the conventional literature review and methodology chapters, and provides a contribution to the study of menswear and masculinities within fashion studies.

My interdisciplinary research bridged four fields – fashion studies, material culture, life-writing and museology – and interrogated them from material, museological, philosophical, historical and sociological perspectives. By taking these approaches, this thesis has argued for the layering of MCA with object-based research as an effective research framework with which to comprehensively analyse dress from a number of approaches, to propose more concrete, and nuanced, findings. MCA alone cannot answer biographical questions. Working with Amy de la Haye, Claire Wilcox and Alan Cannon-Jones enabled me to craft a narrative that reflected different approaches to my research into masculine dress, always focusing on the objects; I explored these men's dress as objects in their own right and as things in collections, with the power to tell dress stories. The findings are often detailed, subtle and very specific: Tynan's Nutter safari jacket, worn and repaired at the pockets and button holes; the tangled green gardening wire hidden in the pocket of Strong's Next blouson; Reed's pulled thread on the rever of his Yamamoto overcoat, that only revealed itself through detailed physical analysis of the garment, and my subsequent oral testimony query of his memories of the

garment. The clothes and ephemera revealed bodies of evidence into the men's biographies. I suggest that new knowledge generated contributes original insights into biographical research practices, from my proposed post-private wardrobe (interrogated in chapter four), to masculine approaches to collecting in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

While my preoccupation has been menswear, this research framework can be applied to all types of clothing – men's, women's, non-gender binary people and historical and contemporary garments, fashion or otherwise. My explicit aim has been to encourage biographical researchers to address the exclusion of dress from their research practices.

Before moving on to the chapter summaries, I want to account for the ordering of the chapters, and how the flow of ideas contributed to the thesis. Firstly, in order to prove that interrogating MCA of a subject's clothing can augment our understanding of the objects which surround someone's life-story, I established a research framework to analyse the construction of Tynan, Strong and Reed's identities. I placed the identity and representation chapter first, as it was important to emphasize just how impactful clothing can be in interpreting someone's identity, and how what we wear is used to construct a representation of self. Secondly, it was vital to critique material culture and in particular MCA as a practice, and surfaces and spaces as interpretive devices through which a greater understanding of someone's life-story could be gained. Using surface studies to formalise my analysis, what emerged was how clothing was symbolically analogous to the skin that it covers, whereas in the practice of MCA, physical materiality is privileged. In other words, surface studies regards the absence of a body, and MCA

captures evidence of a physical body. Combined, they offer a self-supporting structure with which to explore both abstract and tangible surfaces. Thirdly, I interrogated the history, practice and methodology of biography and life-writing, to understand how life-stories are constructed, and how MCA could enhance the fields. Finally, a better understanding of collecting fashion, and the biography of a wardrobe of someone's clothes, was analysed to broaden the debate beyond individual objects and to understand a group of garments as having a collective biography, to gain insights into how post-private wardrobes could reveal more intimate and insightful understandings of a person's life-story.

In chapter one, Constructing Identity and Representation, I set the stage for my research by analysing the construction of masculine identities through clothing. I explored theories of identity and masculinities, representation, performativity and gender, analysing ideas proposed by Solomon-Godeau, Butler, Mort, Nixon, Edwards and others. I introduced the practice of MCA, as a key method in the research framework utilised in this thesis. The suit was analysed as a definitive example of masculine attire through which the lives of the men could be explored. Analysing key ensembles that each man wore – Tynan's Mr Fish shirt, Strong's Versace white linen suit and Reed's CdG kilt – I examined narratives of identity and representation that their clothes helped to reveal: how they used their clothing to literally fashion different identities. I explored how these men engaged with London for significant periods of their lives, purchasing and wearing clothing from consumerist, practical and creative perspectives, using theorists including Breward and Gilbert, O'Neill and Edwards to broaden my interpretation. I proposed that the routes Reed took, from his studies at the Courtauld to the

restaurants of Piccadilly and the stores of New and Old Bond Street, revealed performative elements of his use of clothes. I established how his first 40 years of life involved experimenting with and constructing different masculine identities, inspired by media representations and designer styling, using clothes as a tool with which to negotiate a sense of self. The conflation of textual analysis and oral history with MCA proved that a close reading of clothing (such as Reed's Gaultier quilted coat ensemble), greatly enhanced insights into these men's constructions of identity and representation.

Chapter two, Biographical Material Culture, analysed the practice of MCA of clothing, contextualising it within historical and philosophical contexts from theorists including Prown, Schlereth, Küchler and Miller, and themes of object-based research, surface studies, the everyday, forensic analysis, materiality and immateriality. Working with theories proposed by Inglis, Turkle and Charpy (amongst others), I critiqued the importance of interrogating the narrative possibilities of everyday objects and the specificities of dress. Many of the examined garments were everyday garments, whether mass-produced or designer quality; if they were worn regularly I classified them as everyday items. I highlighted how the extraordinary in the everyday was a key theme of this thesis; seemingly innocuous, everyday objects that revealed a wealth of information when analysed using the proposed research framework. Working with the available material, and layering MCA of Tynan's, Strong's and Reed's clothing, demanded different approaches and degrees of application in the research methods to analyse the biographies of the clothing they wore. Unable to interview Tynan, oral testimony with a close relative offered insights into another person's perspective of his iden-

tity. In Strong's case, there was textual analysis, with many photographs, often personal, in his scrapbooks with which to construct narratives. This, and time spent interviewing him, enhanced my analysis of textual information and MCA of his clothing. In Reed's case, oral testimony interviews provided information with which I constructed and contextualised the beginnings of a life-story about him and his clothing. By applying the research framework to each man's clothing, I argue that new knowledge was created in the process. At all stages of the research material objects and materiality were presented as a prime reason for undertaking this study. Through the materiality of these objects, what I discovered was that if I had no visual or literary sources to work with, and if I was unable to interview a subject, as in Tynan's case, my research framework proved that I was able to obtain evidence that revealed elements of their lives. I was able to corroborate the hints in the literature about Tynan's extreme weight loss at the end of his life, evidenced in his belts and in the way his yellow Dorso trousers had been taken in. I made informed assumptions about his life choices, indicated in the repairs of the Nutter safari jacket. What was also clear was that the immaterial object, such as missing designer labels on Reed's clothing (the baby pink thread the only clue left of what was once there), offered clues not only in how he wore his clothes, but his perspectives on these things as "pieces" to wear, and the burgeoning sense of him as a collector. The layering of research methods enabled me to draw insights from these men's conscious construction of identities in order to narrate their lives.

Chapter three, Life-writing and the Biography of Men's Clothes, interrogated the complex nature of peoples' life-stories. I analysed how theorists and practitioners,

including Lee, Parke, Mitchell, Shelston and Anderson emphasised a malleable approach (inherent too in interdisciplinary studies) to the practice of biographical interpretation. I worked with what I termed modulated believing, defined in the introduction, to differentiate between corroborated evidence and informed assumption, and allowing a fluid approach to the research material. Whilst this approach runs throughout the thesis, it was particularly in the final chapter that I emphasised the value of this approach to biographical research. I critically evaluated theory interrogating the use of objects in life-writing methods, gendered biographies, and biography of objects when researching someone's life and the clothes they wore. My aim was to embed Mitchell's 'dress stories' (2012: 43) in biographical research. Through layering findings from each research method, I proved how the biographies of Tynan, Strong and Reed's clothing corroborated established facts, and revealed new information, about their life-stories. Working with Kopytoff and Turkle's theories around objects and the value of things, I demonstrated how everyday garments like Strong's Next blouson are as important as Reed's designer garments in enhancing my understanding of their lives. I explored Rochberg-Halton's 'web of meaning', the idiosyncratic constructions through which to approach my interpretation of these men's clothing. Working with ideas presented at the *Lives of Objects* conference (2013), and theorists including Gibson, Deleuze and Guattari, Stallybrass and Bal, I was able to contextualise objects, memory, death and scepticism, particularly in relation to how I approached Tynan's wardrobe and the absence of being able to interview him.

Chapter four, Post-Private Wardrobes and Biographical Collecting, posed challenges to my research outcomes regarding gendered collecting practices. I anal-

ysed my definition of post-private wardrobes, as a way of understanding how these men's wardrobes were imbued with different significance when stored in museum collections. Interrogating museological theorists including Pearce, Elsner and Cardinal, Bal and Baudrillard, I explored how Tynan, Strong and Reed's wardrobes came to be in the V&A and FMB, and how these narratives augmented their biographies. My research examined what could be gleaned from the men's perceptions of their broader wardrobe of clothes as a group or collection, and their construction of identity. I used the stories of these collections as a way of interrogating Strong's archival behaviour. He was someone who, with a professional museological background and understanding of the power of groups of objects to tell stories (as an exhibition or collection), and, sensing that his personal wardrobe could offer another perspective of six decades of his biography, realised the significance of it within a museum. My research enhanced insights into his life, through understanding not only his approach to his clothes as individual artefacts, but as a group of things that he wore to present private and public identities. Reed's collecting trajectory was purposeful, in his intentional gathering of complete or near-complete catwalk designer ensembles. Life changes also impacted on how these collections came to be housed in museums. Tynan's death, Strong's evolution into older age, Reed's move to France all inspired changed perceptions of their clothes as a collection. The wardrobe as biographical evidence requires further research. The fact that both Strong and Reed are likely to donate further items to the museums offers potential for the biographies of these objects, and as wardrobes, to develop.

I now speculate on future directions for my research. Ultimately, I argue that

more sensitive, nuanced readings of the biography of dress is an important stimulus for original and more expansive biographical outcomes. The materiality of clothes as evidence acts as a conduit for memories, becoming a material memory of life events. Scientific forensic analysis will enhance future research, enabling researchers to broaden the history and biography of objects through details such as production and construction, as I suggested when addressing an x-ray of Tynan's Nutter safari suit jacket. It will stand alongside other material culture research methods, augmenting the traditional life-writing tools to reinforce, or alter, perceptions of people's lives. I view this as an exciting opportunity to uncover original evidence that will dispel some myths about dress and fashion, and encourage future debate around the biography of clothes. What is collecting in the 21st century, and what can be defined as a "post-private" collection? What is the best use we can make of these objects and the stories they carry? What kind of futures can we envisage for them? What value do these object biographies have in museum collections? And what kind of narratives do we want to construct around them to inform, engage and bring pleasure to museum audiences?

My future research aims to explore how the materiality of worn clothing is contextualised, conceptually and physically, in biographical and historical exhibitions. Complex relationships between memory and objects (such as our dynamic and constantly evolving relationship to clothing) deserve more rigorous attention. Other forms of tracking personal styles and character traits will be interrogated in my future research, including hairstyles and accessories, grooming and demeanour. Due to the wealth of imagery I have from Strong's scrapbooks, and in combination with further object-based research I am able to date images fairly

accurately, from his hairstyle, choice of glasses and other fashion accessories that he wore. This research will be presented to both the V&A and FMB to augment their registry records on the subjects, and contribute to a forthcoming display on masculinities and biographies at FMB in 2020 that I am co-curating, where Strong will feature as a key subject.

Further research includes exploring Karen Barad's thoughts around performativity, movement and agency. It provides a starting point in a debate around research in fashion and material culture studies, the biography of objects and agency. Such a debate I propose would challenge Campbell's too-cautious approach to symbolism and agency invested in fashion, and will inform my interrogation of the biography of clothes in the future. Reed's memories of the movement of his clothes is an example that inspires me to consider not only how the material wear and tear of clothes came to be, but how we remember clothes we wear, and how this can enrich biographical insights. My aim is that the research framework underpinning my thesis will enhance curatorial practices when establishing someone's life-story and presenting these stories, for biographical and social history fashion exhibitions. I also hope that biographical researchers will consider examining a subject's clothing to expand the understanding and generate further insight into a subject's life.

This thesis offers an enhanced sense of the life-stories and masculine identities of Tynan, Strong and Reed through the material analysis of their clothes. I have proven how MCA as a practice with which to analyse and re-analyse objects is successful in offering more insights into biographical research. I argue that using this practice, layered with object-based research methods, offers an elastic

and expansive response to biographical narrative and production. I encourage researchers exploring the life-stories of men, be they life-writers, curators or historians, to consider materiality of masculine dress as primary evidence towards a rigorous and thoughtful analysis and interpretation of someone's life-story. My research has revealed that searching for narratives in clothing can be elusive and time-consuming. The biographies of clothes are complex, secretive and dense to unpack. They are also generative, freeing, nuanced, and very specific.

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Forty Years of Fuck on British Television (11/09/05) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oceKoVcf5zw (Accessed 07/03/17)

Jean-Paul Gaultier, Rabbi Chic catwalk presentation, men and womenswear, Autumn/Winter 1993 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVeSDyERCaI (Accessed 09/11/16)

Sir Laurence Olivier: Great Acting 1966 Interview with Kenneth Tynan (1-5/5).

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http://temporaryartreview.com/slow-criticism-art-in-the-age-of-post-judgement/ (Accessed 04/05/2017)

The Art of Life: are biographies fiction? (2016)
https://iai.tv/video/the-art-of-life (Accessed 22/04/16)

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http://www.vam.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/254619/VA-COLLECTIONS-DEVELOPMENT-POLICY-2014-rev1.pdf (Accessed 09/11/16)

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When Lucy Met Roy Sir Roy Strong at 80 (2015) [TV programme] BBC Four Documentary
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eng1TrwmQsg (Accessed 12/09/15)

X-raying Balenciaga (2017)
https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/x-raying-balenciaga (Accessed 09/06/18)

Archives

Sir Roy Strong and Julia Trevelyan Oman: 122 scrapbooks titled from *1967-8* to *2003 14 Feb. to…* The Laskett, Herefordshire (Since 2017, these scrapbooks have been housed as part of Strong's archive at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

18-19/11/15

15-16/12/15

27-28/01/16

British Library sound archives:

Howard, A. (Dir.) *Reputations: Kenneth* Tynan. BBC Two, 25 July 1982, 20:05pm. Sound recording shelfmark T5098

Tynan, K(athleen) in conversation with Harold Hobson (05/04/1982) C1372/053 C1, part 1

Tynan, K(athleen) in conversation with Jonathan Miller (02/10/82) C1372/140 Part 2

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Tynan, K(athleen) in conversation with Laurence Olivier:

1 CDR0025452, 04/08/1983: Part 1 of 4

1 CDR0025453, 04/08/1983: Part 2 of 4

1 CDR0025454, 16/08/1983: Part 3 of 4

1 CDR0025455, 16/08/1983: Part 4 of 4

National Archive of Art and Design

Victoria and Albert Museum Registry file 95/990: Kenneth Tynan, National Archive of Art and Design

Victoria and Albert Museum Registry file 86/1982: Sir Roy Strong, National Archive of Art and Design

Victoria and Albert Museum Registry file 2009/142: Mark Reed, National Archive of Art and Design

Film

A Room with a View. 1985 (film). James Ivory dir. UK. Merchant Ivory Productions

The Draughtman's Contract. 1982 (film). Peter Greenaway dir. UK. British Film Institute. Channel Four Television

Dracula. 1992 (film). Francis Ford Coppola dir. USA. American Zoetrope, Columbia Pictures Corporation, Osiris Films

Howard's End. 1992 (film). James Ivory dir. UK. UK, Japan, USA. Merchant Ivory Productions

Email correspondence (contained in appendices 7 and 9)

Nicolas Aksil, Comme des Garçons Press Office, Paris 25/07/2017

Sir Roy Strong CH and author: 27/01/18; 27/08/16; 21/06/16; 20/06/16

Oral history interviews

(Oral testimony and history interview transcripts with Tynan, Strong and Reed & Harden, Wilcox and Stanfill in appendix 10)

Adam Phillips, Psychoanalyst

- Oral history. 18 November 2010. Interviewer: author

Claire Wilcox, Senior Curator, Fashion, V&A

- Oral history. 22 January 2015: 15.00 – 15.45pm. Interviewer: author

Rosemary Harden, Curator, FMB

- Oral history. 09 June 2017, 15.30 – 16.18pm. Interviewer: author

Mark Reed, oral testimony

- Room 316, London College of Fashion, 20 John Prince's Street, 06 November 2014, 10.30 – 12.00. Interviewer: author
- Clothworker's Centre, Victoria and Albert Museum, Blythe House, 20 January 2015, 11.30am-13.30pm. Interviewer: author
- Clothworker's Centre, Victoria and Albert Museum, Blythe House, 15 April 2015. 10.30am-12.30pm. Interviewer: author
- Room 418a, London College of Fashion, 20 John Prince's Street, 07 May 2015, 10.30am-12.00pm. Interviewer: author
- Room 511, London College of Fashion, 20 John Prince's Street, 23 October 2015, 10.30-11.30am. Interviewer: author
- Telephone testimony, London College of Fashion, 20 John Prince's Street, 22 February 2018, 12.00-12.30pm. Interviewer: author

Sir Roy Strong CH, oral testimony

- Fashion Museum, Bath. Friday 25 September 2015: four sessions throughout the day: 10.30-11.31am; 12.00-13.03pm; 14.30-14.47pm; 15.10-16.28pm. Interviewers: author, Rosemary Harden

Sonnet Stanfill, Curator, Fashion, V&A. Oral history

- Victoria and Albert Museum, 02/06/16: 16.00-16.45pm. Interviewer: author

Tracy Tynan, oral testimony

- London College of Fashion, John Prince's Street, London W1G 0BJ/Tynan residence, Los Angeles, USA (Skype). 07 April 2017, 16.35-17.30pm. Interviewer: author
- London College of Fashion, John Prince's Street, London W1G 0BJ/Tynan residence, Los Angeles, USA (Skype). 10 May 2017, 17.05-17.54pm. Interviewer: author

Collections

Visits to analyse garments of the following subjects, Fashion Museum, Bath

Mark Reed:

06/03/13

Roy Strong:

10/07/15

17/11/15

19/04/16

16/05/16

15/06/16

21/07/16

08-12/08/16 (Visit with Alan Cannon-Jones, 10/08/16)

13-14/07/17

Roy Strong and Mark Reed:

09/06/17

24-25/08/17

21-22/09/17

Visits to analyse garments of the following subjects, Clothworker's Centre, V&A

Kenneth Tynan:

15/01/14

22/01/14

Mark Reed:

29/05/14

02/07/14

09/07/14

16/07/14

18/09/14

23/09/14

20/01/15

07/05/15

Roy Strong:

10/09/15

06/11/15

20/07/16

Ken Tynan, Roy Strong, Mark Reed:

06/07/16 (with Alan Cannon-Jones)

07/09/16 (with Alan Cannon-Jones)

19/09/17 (with Professor Amy de la Haye, Professor Claire Wilcox, Alan Cannon-Jones)

16/03/18

27/04/18

Appendices

The following pages contain appendices which are broken into ten sections. These contain: emails, literary analysis, a table detailing masculine collections in a number of UK museums, description of the MCA method, ethics template, PhD training history and museum collection policies.

MCA imagery and oral testimony and history transcripts are stored on a USB memory stick accompanying this thesis.

Appendix 1

Literary Analysis of Nine Biographies of Men

This section highlights literary analysis of nine biographies about male subjects from the last 100 years. Three questions were asked: firstly, did the biographer describe the subject's appearance, or use other peoples' references, to the subject's looks, demeanour (accessories, hairstyles, pose), and. If so, were they generalised statements or specific details. Secondly, did the biographer describe the subject's clothing, including detail of dressed appearance (colour of clothes, textures, lengths, designers). I captured the page numbers of each reference, simply to ascertain the numbers of times appearance or clothing was referred to in the biography. I also captured specific descriptions of or references to garments. Thirdly: was MCA undertaken of the subject's clothing? Other than Wild's measuring of some of Cecil Beaton's garments, my analysis revealed nothing.

Drake, A. (2006) *The Beautiful Fall: fashion, genius and glorious excess in 1970s Paris*. Bloomsbury: London

Descriptors of Yves Saint Laurent's appearance (9, 12, 20, 23, 28, 39, 51, 52, 214, 258, 324)
Descriptors of Yves Saint Laurent's clothing (244, 281)
Descriptors of Karl Lagerfeld's appearance (16, 64, 67-8, 73, 85, 164, 167, 190, 222, 229-30, 233, 244, 361, 369)
Descriptors of Karl Lagerfeld's clothing (2, 67-8, 72-3, 83, 85, 87, 164-5,190, 192, 229, 230, 258, 262, 336, 361, 370)
Detailed description of outfit, but not MCA (67)

Hoare, P. (1990) *Serious Pleasures: the life of Stephen Tennant*. Penguin: London

Descriptors of Tennant's physical features and appearance (7, 13, 31, 74, 81, 108, 109, 141, 185, 210, 216, 241, 242, 248, 265, 283, 305, 314, 320, 325, 327, 334-6, 342, 346, 362-3, 366, 367, 369, 376, 386, 388, 390)
Descriptors of his clothing, including (13, 14, 29, 31, 34, 35, 38, 60, 66, 69, 72, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 92, 94, 100, 101, 107, 109, 115, 119, 139, 140, 143, 146, 148, 149, 152, 167-8, 169, 175, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 194, 201, 202, 206, 214, 221, 224, 256, 257, 258-9, 264, 267, 271, 293, 299, 304, 334, 337, 357-8)
MCA undertaken of the subject's clothing? N/A
A lot of clothing descriptors by others of Tennant
Shapes, textures (fur), colours
Tennant's interest in fashion (19, 24, 51, 62, 110, 216)

Many descriptors of Tennant's style and clothing, his physical features and how others perceived his appearance. There is reference to the sound of his voice and pronunciation (196) and reference to his shaving crème (Roger et Gallet's 'Savon à la Violette'), and his waist size in middle age (334). This information helps build a picture of a stylish man of the 1920s who, despite his height, demeanor and privileged arrogance, became a recluse who did not achieve consist professional success as an illustrator or journalist. What is notable is that, despite regular reference to his clothing and stylish ensembles, those clothes that did survive (sold at the 1987 Sotheby's auction of Tennant's household goods) were not sourced by Hoare, therefore they were not materially analysed. Hoare did not know who had purchased the lot of Tennant's clothes (personal email communication, 16/01/16). I wrote to Christie's, sending a letter to forward to the anonymous purchaser, but received no response.

Morley, P. (2016) *The Age of Bowie*. Simon and Schuster: London

Description of Bowie's appearance (11, 18, 22, 75, 103-4, 108, 117, 118-9, 122, 145, 149, 164, 165, 177, 195, 197, 205, 211, 225, 229, 230, 234, 240, 244, 245, 250, 255, 257, 264, 265, 266, 268, 270, 272, 274-5, 284, 285, 290, 298, 313, 316, 343, 431)
Description of Bowie's clothing (218)
MCA undertaken of the subject's clothing? N/A
Mr Fish album cover dress (218)

Reavis, T.S. (2014) *The Life and Career of David Beckham*. Rowman and Littlefield: Lanham

Descriptors of Beckham's appearance (63, 92, 93-5, 97,118, 124, 174)
Descriptors of Beckham's clothing (61, 93, 95)
MCA undertaken of the subject's clothing? N/A
On his wedding day, his wife, Victoria, wore a Vera Wang gown. There is descriptive detail of the gown (61). David's outfit is described as an 'ivory and white suit.'

Richardson, L. (2018) *House of Nutter: the rebel tailor of Savile Row*. Crown Archetype: New York

Descriptors of Nutter's appearance (20-1, 39, 46-7, 59, 69, 80, 111, 128, 131, 134, 170)
Descriptors of his clothing (20, 50, 112-3, 172)
MCA undertaken of the subject's clothing? N/A
Descriptions of Edward Sexton altering his school uniform (66)
Descriptors of Nutter's and Sexton's approach to dress ('the fabric you wore, the way it was cut, the lifestyle you lived: it all went together."' 67)
Tommy's designing (68, 84, 87-88, 99-100, 103-4, 117-8, 120, 122-3, 134, 155-9, 196, 248, 251-5, 310)

Revolutionising Savile Row (105, 111, 129, 149-51)
FMB wedding suit (194)

Rowbotham, S. (2009) *Edward Carpenter: a life of liberty and love*. Verso: London
Descriptors of Carpenter's appearance (2, 7, 16, 22, 23, 90, 104, 121, 127, 151, 152, 153, 170, 185, 249, 251, 252, 253, 258, 259, 267, 287, 311, 312, 314, 322, 335-6, 337, 340, 352, 356, 357, 418, 428, 429, 437, 439, 441, 442,
Descriptors of Carpenter's clothing (94-5, 229, 232,
MCA undertaken of the subject's clothing? N/A
Pared down approach to clothing (recycling) (94)
Sandals (making of) (99, 150)
Carpenter in his 'anarchist overcoat (169)
Carpenter sewing himself a tunic (258)

Tynan, K. (1987 [1988]) *The Life of Kenneth Tynan*. Methuen: London
Descriptors of Ken Tynan's appearance (4, 6, 31, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 51, 52, 54-5, 57, 59, 60, 64, 69, 72, 84, 92, 97, 99, 142, 159, 176, 196, 198, 200, 205, 231, 243, 284, 328, 338, 340, 341, 346, 356, 360, 361, 362, 391, 395)
Descriptors of Ken Tynan's clothing (4, 5, 7, 28, 51, 59, 88, 90, 102, 104, 106, 109, 111, 129, 173, 194, 235, 294, 338)
MCA undertaken of the subject's clothing? N/A
Chapter three titled 'The Young Dandy'

Vickers, H. (1986) *Cecil Beaton: the authorized biography*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London
Descriptors of Beaton's appearance (xxiii, xxvi, 8, 14, 21, 23, 29, 30, 31, 39, 40, 47, 48, 59, 60, 61, 66, 69, 72-3, 74, 88, 89, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 103, 106, 114, 118, 125, 129, 149, 150, 158, 159, 163, 165, 169, 173, 176, 178, 181, 183, 190, 201, 215, 218, 220, 253, 256, 283, 317, 363, 364, 368, 371-2, 396, 399, 404, 406, 440, 449, 458-9, 464, 481, 483, 488, 491, 494, 503, 511, 514, 516, 521, 530, 545, 548, 559, 569, 574, 578)
Descriptors of Beaton's clothing (163, 458-9)
MCA undertaken of the subject's clothing? N/A
Conventionality of dress later in life (183)
Ashcombe *fête champêtre* coat of broken eggshells and red roses (201)
Beaton as best dressed man in the world (371, 530), and size of his clothing (one size too small) (530)
V&A exhibition (551-3)
His house maid looking after his clothes (569)

Wild, B. (2016) *A Life in Fashion: the wardrobe of Cecil Beaton*. Thames and Hudson: London

Descriptors of Beaton's appearance (8-9, 14-15, 16, 18, 26, 28, 34, 36, 57, 59, 66, 71, 79, 82-3, 87, 89, 93, 94, 104, 113, 115, 118-20, 127, 131)

Descriptors of Beaton's clothing (25, 42, 46, 52, 62, 65, 77, 78, 87, 102, 113, 120)

MCA undertaken of the subject's clothing? N/A

Patent pumps (97)

Ordering tailored garments (108)

Use of materials for tailored wear (108)

Beaton describing his gardening wear (108)

Accessories (120)

Sir Roy Strong's Blades suit described (124)

Many descriptive details of Beaton's garments, proving that description and measuring aids an understanding of changes in the physical body, but no MCA described.

Appendix 2

Collections of menswear, England (review undertaken 2012)

Institution	Menswear collection?	Numbers of	Details (names/accession dates/etc.)/Notes
Walker Art Gallery	N		No significant collections of one man's wardrobe.
Gallery of Costume Platt Hall, Manchester	Y	4, possibly more (TBC)	- Mr Thomas Carill Worsley (1739-1809), whose clothes came to us in a trunk in the 1950s and who lived at Platt Hall. About 30 items. Acc nos 1954.957-994. - Mr C Z Cook who gave a small batch (23 lots) of mainly 1970s and mainly YSL menswear. Acc nos 1990.128-134; 1991.73-4; 1993.117-130. - Mr Ray Brook who gave 37 lots in the 1990s, mixed but fashionable, 1970s/80s. Acc nos 1991.7-8; 1992.130-131; 1999.74-85; 2000.71-6. - Mr Philip Nevitsky, who has just given about 15 lots of 1960s/70s fashionable clothes (2012.36-48 plus a few not yet accessioned).
York Castle Museum			Not known.
Norfolk Costume and Textile Study Centre	Y	1	Maurice Walker. Accessioned: 2009. A local, although he commuted from Norwich to London by rail daily. NCTSC have accessioned most of his clothing, although it is still ongoing, and hold a considerable history file including photographs in their files. The majority of his clothing was bespoke and tailored by the Firm Stones and Co of Norwich and Seville row (a branch of which still exists here in Norwich). He even had three pairs of tailored bespoke denim jeans made for him in the 1970's. NCTSC hold one outfit from when Maurice was a baby, his school uniform, military uniform and over 60 suits / jacket trouser combinations. His last bespoke suit dates from the 2000's. NCTSC also hold his leisure and sporting clothing: hunting, sailing and fishing. He was known as a snappy dresser and always had a fresh carnation in his lapel.
Museum of London	Y	4 at least	- Max Beerbohm. - Peter Viti. - ? from the last 20 years. - ? from the last 20 years.
Brighton Museum	Y	2 at least	- Snowdon? - ? Collection of menswear from 2000-5 (trousers, accessories [bags], shoes, t-shirts).
Abington Museum, Northampton	?	?	No response as of 22/11/12.

Hope House Museum, Derbyshire	?	?	No menswear collections.
Fashion and Textiles Museum London	?	?	No menswear collections.
Victoria and Albert Museum	Y	At least 7	- Charlie Porter - approx. 40 pieces of contemporary menswear. - Michael Costiff - menswear pieces purchased as part of the Michael and Gerlinde Costiff costume collection. - Thomas Coutts collection (18th and 19th century). - Sir Roy Strong (donated). - Ken Tynan (donated). - Mark Reed (donated). - Edward James.
Fashion Museum, Bath	Y	At least 4	- Charlie Porter (small collection). - Michael Costiff (small collection). - Mark Reed (donated). - Sir Roy Strong (extensive, repeated donations). - There are small collections of 1-3 ensemble, including the 8th and 9th Dukes of St Albans.

Appendix 3
Material Culture Analysis: stages 1-3

The primary stage, description, is broken down into three components. Prown borrowed this step from art historical and anthropological methodologies, where 'internal evidence' of an object is thoroughly analysed, using key visual indicators (including size, silhouette, colour, texture, weight, fabrication, materials and construction) (1982: 7). He defined the description stage as the 'descriptive physical inventory of the object' (Prown, 1982: 8). Questions to ask in this stage include the following:

- Is it a fashionable (for the time) piece?
- What does this suggest?

He urged the analyst to 'continually guard against the intrusion of either subjective assumptions or conclusions derived from other experience' (Prown, 1982: 7). The current physical state of the object is not analysed at this step (whether it is worn or not), nor is style or history explored. The second component of the description step describes iconographic indicators of the object, such as decoration, pattern, motifs, depictions of scenes. Thirdly, it is at this point that a more formal analysis of all elements described thus far is conducted. Physical structure is analysed in relation to decorative and iconographic elements to form a broader picture of the physical make-up of the object.

Prown described the second stage, deduction, as moving from a description of the physical properties of an object 'to the relationship between the object and the perceiver' (1982: 8). Here, the analyst's personal perspectives, physical interaction with the object, and imagination as to what it represents, or how it would or could be used is explored. Handling the object, if possible, is encouraged. Questions include:

- What does the physical structure of the garment tell us about the man and his personal taste? What is it about the texture, shape, silhouette reveal of his inclinations and style?

Prown urges caution, as earlier, regarding personal assumptions clouding perspective: 'The particular encounter between an object and its history and an individual with his history shapes the deductions' (Prown, 1982: 9). In other words, the analyst's personal history is reflected in their analysis, and this must be acknowledged. He acknowledges the impact such personal influencers as belief systems, class, education and wealth can have on the analyst's understanding of an object, especially when asked to use their senses to describe and evaluate an object. But, he also asserts the value of the senses in undertaking such exercises: 'By undertaking cultural interpretation through artifacts [sic], we can engage the other culture in the first instance not with our minds, the seat of our cultural biases, but with our senses' (Prown, 1982: 5). This openness to individual senses in analysing objects is

described in earlier writing by Prown: ‘instead of our minds making intellectual contact with minds of the past, our senses make affective contact with senses of the past’ (1980: 208).

Within this second stage, Prown describes a number of processes that are required to analyse an object: sensory engagement, intellectual engagement, and emotional response. Here, the researcher touches the object to gain a greater understanding of texture, patina, weight, what the object feels and sounds like. Intellectually, the analyst needs to draw on personal experience to dissect the object further: what is it made for? What is its function? Finally, emotionally, the viewer responds to the object. As Prown notes, ‘These subjective reactions, difficult but by no means impossible to articulate, tend to be significant to the extent that they are generally shared. They point the way to specific insights when the analyst identifies the elements noted in the descriptive stage that have precipitated them’ (Prown, 1982: 9).

Prown concludes with the third stage, speculation, where the perceiver is able to use their imagination and ideas to develop theories and hypotheses for future research, which he considers a fundamental component of the methodology. To do so, he advises a review of the material unearthed in the description and deduction stages, to look for clues, patterns, key words or ideas that could be analysed and formalised for future research. Prown also encourages a sense of freedom in the imagination of the researcher, in order to encourage cross-pollination of ideas, to turn the ‘data over in one’s mind, developing theories that might explain the various effects observed and felt’ (Prown, 1982: 10). This is an acknowledgement of the inevitability of personal and cultural perspectives influencing the imagination, and perspectives different from those who may have produced the object (Prown, 1982: 10). To him, this is an inevitable part of the process, as long as the analyst is aware of these inclinations, they are able to balance their findings and judgements appropriately. ‘Imaginative critical interpretation may change an object irretrievably, but our ideas and our perceptions are continually being altered by new ideas and perceptions’ (Prown, 1982: 13). The material culture analysis methodology requires personal reflection and awareness of cultural biases in the researcher, which is built into the process. As Prown asserts, ‘the methodology of material culture, with its affective approach that aspires to the objectivity of scientific method, affords a procedure for overcoming the distortions of our particular cultural stance, and, of almost equal importance, it makes visible the otherwise invisible, unconscious biases of our own cultural perspective. Awareness of what one normally takes for granted occurs only in the forced confrontation with another norm’ (1982: 5). The researcher’s cultural perspective ‘is only a problem or liability to the extent that one is unaware or unable to adjust for it. Indeed, it is our quarry, the cultural patterns of belief, of mind, that we seek’ (Prown, 1982: 5).

Appendix 4
Sample of imagery from selected material culture analysis sessions at the V&A and FMB

A sample of imagery from MCA sessions is stored on attached memory stick.

Appendix 5
Ethics Form template

Ben Whyman
London College of Fashion
20 John Prince's Street
London W1G 0BJ

ORAL HISTORY/TESTIMONY RECORDING AGREEMENT

Recordings of oral histories are integral in preserving memory. Your recorded interview will become part of a collection cared for by Ben Whyman, where it will be preserved as a permanent public reference resource for use in research, publication, education, lectures, broadcasting and the internet. The purpose of this Agreement is to ensure that your contribution is added to Ben Whyman's oral history archive in strict accordance with your wishes.

This Agreement is made between **Ben Whyman** ('the Interviewer') and you ('the Interviewee, 'I'):
Your name:
Your address:

in regard to the recorded interview/s which took place on:
Date/s:

Declaration: I, the Interviewee confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to Ben Whyman all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Design and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to Ben Whyman, or you wish to limit public access to the whole or part of your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:
……..……
……..……

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Agreement.
By or on behalf of the Interviewee:

Signed:.....

Name in block capitals: .....Date:

By the Interviewer:

Signed:
Name in block capitals: Ben Whyman Date:

Appendix 6

PhD training
British Library and the Oral History Society, 'An Introduction to Oral History', 17 September 2014

Object handling training at the FMB with Curator Rosemary Harden, 04-08 March 2013

Two-day training course at the School for Historical Dress on historical tailoring stitching, 29-30 March 2014

A SKIP PhD writing course, 'Writing Design', co-run by the Royal College of Art, Kingston University, and University of the Arts London (03-07 June 2013)

A one day intensive tutorial with Susan North, exploring changes in men's fashion from the 18th to early 20th centuries, 02 September 2015

Gaynor Kavanagh, student workshop, museums and collecting.
London College of Fashion, 15.00-16.30, 05 June 2016

Dress and Textiles Specialists (DATS) training:
Identifying woven cloth 1750-1850, 18 April 2018
More advanced analysis of weave structures and cloth types, 17 May 2018

Publications related to PhD studies
Book Chapter: 'Hardy Amies.' In de la Haye, A., Ehrman, E. (eds.) (2015) *London Couture 1923-1975: British Luxury. V*&A Publishing: London

Peer-reviewed article: 'To Collect – Or Not: Sir Roy Strong CH and his wardrobe.' In *Critical Studies in Men's Fashion*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2017: 43-62

MCA sessions with advisor Alan Cannon-Jones at V&A and FMB. Watching him handle the clothes, pointing out the minutest details unseen to most was invaluable in my appreciation and understanding of these garments.
FMB
Alan Cannon-Jones, 10 August 2016
V&A
Alan Cannon-Jones, 06 September 2016, 07 September 2016
Professor Amy de la Haye and Professor Claire Wilcox contributed to the session on 07 September

Appendix 7

Email communication between Comme des Garçons and author

Due to privacy reasons, Appendix 7 has been removed from this thesis. If you have any queries, please contact the author.

Due to privacy reasons, Appendix 7 has been removed from this thesis. If you have any queries, please contact the author.

Appendix 8

V&A Collecting Policy and FMB Collecting Policy

V&A Collections Development Policy Including Acquisition & Disposal Policy, April 2010

http://www.vam.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/176967/v-and-a-collections-development-policy.pdf

'The Museum will also continue to acquire historical objects which add to the overall understanding of our existing collections or challenge established understandings of a particular period, style or artist/designer's work' (8)

'A major focus of the Museum's collecting is, however, the 20th and 21st centuries. The V&A has a long and distinguished history of collecting and exhibiting objects that form a history of design. We reaffirm our commitment to respond to changes in technology and design practice, and to embrace in our collecting the changing and diverse social contexts which have been the focus of much design innovation. In doing this we also aim to ensure that our collections embrace the artistic and design heritage of our diverse audiences' (8)

'fashionable cut and construction, provenance, rarity and the aesthetic appeal of the garment design' (26)

V&A Collections Development Policy of January 2015

Collecting the contemporary is privileged in the V&A Collections Development Policy of January 2015 (http://www.vam.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/176967/v-and-a-collections-development-policy.pdf: 3).

Our cross-Museum contemporary collecting reflects what is new, what is influential, what is innovative or experimental, and what is representative of contemporary social and artistic trends in an increasingly global world (6).

In terms of the future, we aim to develop the collection of British and other European textiles from 1850 to the present, by acquiring pieces of outstanding aesthetic quality, technical construction, and/or important provenance (22).

Bath and North East Somerset Council Collections Development Policy, October 2013 (FMB's Collection Policy)

https://www.bathnes.gov.uk/sites/default/files/heritage_services_collection_development_policy_oct2013final.pdf

4.3 The Fashion Museum. Nature of Collections: The Museum is one of the largest and most comprehensive collections of fashionable dress and associated material in the UK and in the world and contains in excess of 80,000 objects. The collection is Designated in its entirety by ACE as one with outstanding national significance.

Fashionable dress: the collection includes items of fashionable dress and accessories to dress for women and for men. There is also a significant of dress worn by children, including some excellent early pieces. The Fashion Museum collection includes objects principally from the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries; but there are also significant collections of embroidered 17th century dress, and a good and expanding collection of work by 21st century designers, many of which are acquired through the museum's unique Dress of the Year scheme.The work of leading names in 20th century couture and fashion history from Lucile and Worth to Alexander McQueen and Vivienne Westwood are included in the Fashion Museum collection.

Significant discrete collections include the 20th century 'wardrobe' collections of Mary Chamberlain Carnegie Lady Mary Curzon, the Rani of Pudukkottai, Dame Margot Fonteyn, Dame Alicia Markova, Sir Roy Strong and Mark Read [sic].

The breadth of the historic collections ensures that dress worn by a wide spectrum of wearers is featured in the Fashion Museum collections. The collection is not merely a 'name check' of designers' work.

The span of the types of garment that are featured in the collection is broad: from principle items of dress such as day and evening dresses, coats and jackets through to the full range of fashion accessories to dress from shoes and hats, to gloves, parasols and stockings.

The Fashion Museum collection also includes excellent collections of the nuts and bolts and hidden items of fashion: underwear, collars, cuffs, all of which have been vital throughout dress history for making up a total fashion look.

Photographs, prints, drawings, archival material and magazines: The Fashion Museum collection includes sizeable fashion archive collections, including fashion magazines, fashion photographs and drawings, fashion plates, knitting and dressmaking patterns, historic costume books, trade and designers' archives and costume historians' papers.

Fashion: the collection is of fashionable dress. The term is deliberately interpreted widely to embrace the complexity of the fashion system throughout the period when dress survives. Thus, for example the collection includes 9 couture pieces in the 20th century as well as stylish examples of ready to wear and dressmaker fashions inspired or informed by named designers. Equally, the collection also includes ‘street’ and other fashions which have in turned inspired fashion designers.

Objects on Loan: the collection includes a number of ‘long-term’ loans historically associated with the Fashion Museum. Many of these pieces are preeminent and of relevance to the collection of fashionable dress: for example the Silver Tissue Dress and embroidered 17th century pieces on loan from the Vaughan Family Trust, and the historic gloves on loan from the Glove Collection Trust. We will seek to continue these two loans. The collection also includes a number of individual objects, including 18th century dresses and 17th century embroidered pieces. We will seek to convert the loans and acquire these pieces for the Fashion Museum Collection. In addition, from time to time, the Fashion Museum borrows pieces for specific display projects for short time-limited periods, for example, a collection of 10 dresses worn by Diana Princess of Wales for the exhibition The Diana Dresses in 2010.

Uniforms: the Fashion Museum collection includes some items of uniform, including peers robes. Some are on loan: some acquired in the past. We will seek to return the loans, and to review whether the other pieces should remain in the Fashion Museum collection.

Dolls: the Fashion Museum collection includes a significant collection of dolls. This is not an area of the collection to which we will add. In the future, a review needs to be undertaken of the doll collection.

Household ephemera: the collection includes furniture, ceramics and glass and other household ephemera. This material was collected originally for the purpose of props for display. In 2010 one section of this collection (furniture) was the subject of a Disposal Review, against a test of relevance. It is the intention to follow this first review with subsequent similar reviews of other sections of the collection (ceramics, glass, household ephemera, children’s books), none of which are relevant to the collection of fashionable dress.

Appendix 9

Emails between Sir Roy Strong and author

Due to privacy reasons, Appendix 9 has been removed from this thesis. If you have any queries, please contact the author.

Appendix 10

Oral testimony

All oral testimony transcripts are stored on the attached memory stick.